601 /163 cont./
614 Bejkári
to
615 Petároague
denominate with the term Pajké-Ró

Uejsári Téroague

Majároague
denominates with the term Yeé Párame from

Utíwiague
to
Aúwuewague

Majároague
denominates with the term Nijiá

Uejsári Téroague

614

SUMMARY:

The most notable characteristic of Tukana /Tucano/ society is that all its members form one great family by means of the fictitious extension of kinship ties, creating patrilineal sibs that have the character of castes. In this sense, the /164/ members of the superior castes denominate the inferior castes Nijiá or Pajké-Ró, while the members of the inferior sibs denominate the members of the superior sibs with the terms Mamí or Yeé Párame. It is to be noted that the sibs that denominate the inferior sibs Pajké-Ró denominate one another among themselves with the terms Mamí or Nijiá, according to whether they are superior or inferior castes, and that the sibs that denominate superior sibs Yeé Párame denominate one another among themselves Mamí or Nijiá, according to whether they are superior or inferior castes.

One consequence of the kinship system typical of Tukana culture is the tribal exogamy, since it is considered incestuous if two Tukano individuals of different sex marry. The preferred canon of marriage is that of cross cousins with interchange of brother with sister. The institution of polygyny exists, but it is disappearing among the component sibs of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry, which is the phratry most acculturated to the creole-Colombian culture. The levirate is also found, but this institution seems to be voluntary. Descent is patrilineal and residence is patrilocal, thus forming extended patrilineal families.

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797 /105 cont./
177 the Paca River. The inhabitants of Guadalajara are Indians who have quarreled with the religious Missions and have left them.
622 Javier Sierra, a brother of Marcos, is the capitán of the settle-
595 ment and is one of the few Indians who still practices polygyny: he has two wives.

756 The status of Marcos Sierra as shaman and expert in Tukano
115 history is high among the settlers of Guadalajara. He is con-
554 sidered a good healer and is called from great distances to give his medical services. We consider Marcos Sierra an intelligent man, with an imagination a little too fertile, and an informant anxious to help: he is approximately 40 years of age.

Cosmogony

539 The Tukano crossed the Pacific Ocean (4).

[115] [177]

4. Marcos Sierra, our informant, has never traveled beyond the Vaupés region. The use of the Pacific Ocean seems to be a case of transculturization.

From Diaojpekowí were the first Tukano who arrived here (at the Vaupés). From Diaojpekowí were the first colonists to arrive in this region of the Vaupés, in other words, they were the discoverers. From Diaojpekowí came a Tukano presidente (5),

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5. The term presidente represents another example of the influence of occidental culture on Tukano culture.

and he was the chief of all the Tukano. This chief is named Yúpuri Baúro. From Diaojpekowí also came a judge, who was the one who took care of all the territories of the Tukano. This judge was named Yepára Oakajpeá. Yepára Oakajpeá was the judge of all the Tukano, but Yúpuri Baúro commanded him. From Diaojpekowí came another man, and he was named Yepára Oyé, and these people still constitute the military corps /106/ of the

/21 cont./

3. Ethnographic Information from the Eighteenth Century

128 In the three eighteenth-century sources known, and cited by us, we find very little ethnographic information about the tribes of the basin of the Uaupés that we have studied. Without much inconvenience, then, they can be copied, and we do it for the greater convenience of the readers of these studies.

103 a. In the "Roteiro" we read: -- No. 184. "The true name of the Uaupé River is Ucayari, which, in the idiom of the Manáos and Barez Indians, means -- River of white water; but, since the heathen who inhabits the main trunk of the Ucayari is of the Uaupé nation, the other Indians attributed to him the same name, which the Whites translate into Goaupé (it is the same one that Condamine calls Yaquiri (in the Mapa) and Quiquiari (in the Diario)" /the final parenthesis is missing/.

133 /22/ 185. "Five days of travel along the southern bank the Tiquié disembogues. At a distance of three more days of travel it has a great cataract called Ipanoré ... Three more [135] days the mouth of the river Capuri on the southern bank. In the Tiquié River in the year of 1749 were found stones that, after being examined and melted, appeared to be of silver. By this river and by the Capuri one can go to the Apuapari (Apapóris), which empties on the northern bank of the Japurá, as was said: passing from the sources of that one to the Yeyá or Uayá River, which empties into the eastern branch of the Apuapari."

*101 186. "On the river Ucayari and on those that are collateral to it live Indians of the nations Uaupé, Cocuana, Quereruri, Uanana, Cubeuana, Burenarí, Mamangá, Panenuá and others. 304 The heathen of the Uaupé nation has a small orifice between 171 the cartilage and the lower extremity of the ears; and another on the lower lip between the beard and the upper extremity of 301 the same lip. On the chest he wears a solid white stone, well [554] polished, cylindrical in shape and an inch in diameter, fixed at the neck with string and thread introduced through a small

/22 cont./

301 hole that is made artificially across the middle from one
• 554 extremity to the other: the principals wear them about half a span long; the nobles, a little less, and the common people much shorter."

301 187. "Some Indians of the Tariarana nation, inhabitants
135 of the Capuri River, were seen at another time with little
171 plates of gold /Port. folhetas de ouro/ in the ears, which, in exchange for feathers, they bought from Indians of other nations, whom they did not know. Now it is known that the Indians of the Panenuá nation, who inhabited the upper part of the Ucayari, wear the same little plates and that from them they are passed on to the Tarianos. There is doubt, however, as to where the above-mentioned fragments of gold come from" (3).

3. Manoel da Gama Lobo D'Almada, who, by order of João Pereira Caldas, Governador of the Rio Negro, explored the passages from the Uaupés to the Japurá, in his report of September 13, 1785, manifests his opinion to the same Governador (Arthur Cesar Ferreira Reis -- Lobo D'Almada, p. 82) as follows: "In relation to the little Plates of gold which are said to have been worn by certain Indians of the Uaupés River as earrings; this is one thing about which I could not discover the slightest bit of information, although I have questioned many and different Nations, inhabitants of the same River, with whom I have talked. It could well be that those alleged little Plates of Gold were nothing but a chimeric illusion that originated from having seen in the ears of the said Indians the Wings of certain large, copper-colored Beetles, whose wings, after being dried, resemble some metallic kind because of their thickness and shine. /This footnote is continued on the next page of the original source./

135 "Finally I believe that this Notice of such little Plates of Gold of the Uaupés River is to that degree Fabulous, as certainly is the one that affirms, in the Synopsis of

/23 cont./

133 the north there runs a channel of communication with the river Guabiari, which descends from the environs of Santa
171 Fé de Bogotá. The Daçanas, Tarianas and Uaupés Indians
301 who might communicate with the Indians of the same Guabiari have been seen with earrings of very fine gold, which is supposedly extracted from the mines of New Granada."

*101 381. "The Uaupés is inhabited by many nations, the
301 principal ones of which are Cocuana, Macu, Macucoena,
• 554 Uananá, Tariana, Deçaca (sic), Urinaná, Timanará, Boanari, Mamengá, Panenuá; the most famous one, however, is the Uaupés because of the difference of various degrees of nobility that they admit among them: what serves as the distinction, like a military order, is a very smooth, white stone, cylindrical in shape and pierced in order to pass through it a cord, with which they wear it at the neck. Those of the principals reach up to half a span in length. Those of the nobles are smaller, and those of
[304] the common people much smaller. The Uaupés wear the ears and lips pierced."

127 c. Numerous and interesting pieces of information are found in the nineteenth century, especially in the works of Wallace and Koch Grünberg. We shall cite them whenever an opportunity presents itself to us, as confirmation of what is found at present, or to verify a modification of indigenous customs, or, finally, to rectify those authors' observations that seem incorrect to us.

/66 cont./

000 wrapped in dark shadows (21).

21. A summary of what is reasonably thought in our days can be found in the work by Paul Rivet: Les origines de l'Homme Américain /The origins of American Man/, Montreal, 1943.

177 It is certain, however, that, starting from the eighteenth
648 century, the relations of the colonizers with these natives have become more and more frequent and long-lasting. From these relations, some probable, others proved, have resulted the modifications of the natives, and adoption, more or less altered, of the usages of the civilized. It is the other aspect of the phenomenon of acculturation, and well marked, which can be verified on the Uaupés in the half of this century.

829 3rd. Although biologically and culturally tending toward a leveling, they consider themselves socially unequal. The
[567] group of Tukano tribes is the most noble. The Makú are
[648] considered and called slaves (in Tukano poxsá, a term that, according to A. Giacone, means the one who works gratis), and they themselves considered themselves such, serving without remuneration the tribes of the Tukano and Taryana
• [554] groups. Within the same group of tribes, such as in the subdivisions (cf. VIII-3, c) of each tribe, they are also graded according to a certain nobleness, which is recognized without any discussion. The Prehistory of these tribes might bring some light on this curious practice.

161 4th. Another palpitating question emerges among all: is this indigenous population perhaps on the road to disappearing? Or, who knows, is it maintaining itself numerically the same: or perhaps even tending to increase? We lack statistical data for comparison. We can, nevertheless, affirm:

/116 cont./

*101 14th. -- Simyõ pêru põná (caxirí of uacú /Monopterix uaucú, Spruce/), in Teresita (Papurí) and Itapinima (Uaupés)

/117/

15th. -- Yaxpé putiná (?) or yai buxtiná (white onça /jaguar/), in S. Antônio (Tiquié)
16th. -- Búyaka põná (sumaúma /tree/), on the river Papurí
17th. -- Teáburu põná (a fruit), in Floresta (Tiquié)
18th. -- Mahãñana põná (an edible caterpillar), on the river Papurí
19th. -- Mõneá põna (carapanã /large, long-legged gnat/), in Umarí-igarapé (50)

50. Would it perhaps be the Karapanã tribe, which they consider more intimately connected with the Desana? Actually a Karapanã group exists on the headwaters of the stream Uamarí or Umarí-igarapé.

20th. -- Minumú põná (swallow), on the headwaters of the Papurí
21st. -- Mixpínya põná (açaí /assai palm/), in Turí-igarapé and Montfort (Papurí)
[823] 22nd. -- Way-goberi põná (canal with fish) (51),

51. The natives affirm that there is a subterranean canal between the Papurí and the Tiquié, through which, says the legend, the first fish moved to the Tiquié.

in Piracuára and Montfort (Papurí)
23rd. -- Kúperi põná (?), in Tucunaré (Papurí); only one woman survives, mother of Sabino Paíva from Iuquira (Uaupés)
24th. -- Poetẽna or Po'yaxtẽna (a plant), in Po-yá igarapé
• [554] 25th. -- Ôiwa ánikma (bat), on the river Papurí; they are the pariahs.

/117 cont./

*101 [115] [554] Obs. The Desana José Prado, about 30 years old (1956), confirmed the above subdivisions, with the following modifications: 1st. he does not know the 11th subdivision Waxsúpo põná; 2nd. he corrected the names of the 8th, 15th, and he divided up the 24th, respectively, aganĩgãnĩ põna, yai buxtiná, and Poyaxtẽna, "because it planted the igarapé" (so he explained); 3rd. -- The first three are the most noble, he said, and the óiwa are the pariahs.

x) KUMÃDENE OR IPEKA-TAPUYA

1) People-Name-Language -- Ipéka is a Nheengatú term that means water duck. In their own idiom they call themselves Kumãdene, and in the Tukano language, Dya-kaxtá-põrá (children of the water duck). The Taryãna call them Kumãda Yaperíkuli, ducks of Yaperíkuli.

On the Uaupés there is a small group of this tribe of Arwake extraction, whose idiom is affiliated with the Baniva group, as can be seen by the Vocabulary which we collected (cf. "Discoteca Etno-Linguístico-Musical").

[582] They consider themselves brothers of the Taryãna, and, because of this marriage is forbidden between these tribes. In the list of the subdivisions of the Taryana /118/ the Kumãda Yaperíkuli appear. The somatic and the glottologic differences, however, demonstrate that it is a tribe distinct from the Taryãna.

[142] They are less corpulent, more delicate in constitution, fairer, and have hair less lissotrichous than theirs.

[115] The ones from the Uaupés have already lost their native idiom, all speaking Tukano exclusively. In Urubuara in 1954 we met only two old men who still knew some words of their native language that we could transcribe and record: the sexagenarian tuxáua Mandú Henriques, and the almost nonagenarian Komú (xamã /shaman/) Martinho, who passed away in March of 1956. The ones from the Cuiarí, tributary of the Içana, still preserve their own idiom.

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*192 301 j) Earrings. The men also wear in the ears long earrings, possibly of gilded metal, axpõá-phĩ (65).

[171] 65. The Makú tuxáua of Iauareté had as earrings a gun cartridge burnished and sawed lengthwise into two halves, one in each ear.

[237] When they do not /315/ have them, they put on by way of earrings a bunch of colorful feathers. We have already observed that [177] the young generation, in contact with the civilized, no longer [304] pierces the lobes of the ears and for this reason no longer will wear earrings in the dances.

[237] k) Bracer. The bracer, baxsá karõ-ga, is a large ring of monkey fur, from which hang as little flocks cords of the same fur, with beautiful arara feathers. It is fitted to the left arm, at the height of the elbow.

*192 • 554 l) Adze. It is the primitive adze, syó-a yaxpú, for work in wood (see VI - 2, b) and today used only as a dance ornament. It consists of a branch curved like a hook, yaxpú, about 30 centimeters in height, quite smooth, and with plumes attached by means of sorva milk. At one of the ends it bears, fastened in, a solid stone (which today is mere decoration, also a piece of very hard wood) in the shape of an ax, but narrower. This instrument is used by the most important individuals (tuxaua, komũ, bayá) and goes on the left shoulder.

*192 534 535 237 m) Decorations of the flutes. In certain dance numbers they carry in the right hand a bone flute, membĩ (see above, Musical Instruments), or even a small bone from the onça /jaguar/ or another animal, variously decorated with one of the following ornaments:

1st. -- Mahã-iti. It consists of 8 or 10 red tail feathers from the arara, tied to a twist. This twist is wrapped around one end of the flute or bone, like a crest or fan.

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796 vice versa (50).

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50. We had the opportunity to observe and "to film" the women painting the men. They used for this job, not only their own finger, but also fragments of arumá by way of a brush; sometimes three little sticks of arumá tied together in such a way that from each movement a quite regular triple line resulted. Koch Grünberg himself (Zwei Iahre, 217) let himself be painted on the chest and arms by an Indian woman.

They did not explain to us, nor could we verify, whether they must obey a rule or if they are free to choose the person whom they are to paint. *[192] "Yõo wa'rénõkõ, the one painted by me," this is how the man is designated by the woman who painted him; and "yõõ wa'réko, the one who painted me," is the expression with which the man calls her.

[301] The ornaments are distributed according to the social importance of the individuals, alternately, one for one of the guests, another for a man of the maloca. If there are not enough of them for everyone, and the maloca also has its decorations, one borrows them in order to be complete. It might happen that some will have to remain with more simple decorations and perhaps even only with paintings, because of the lack of ornaments.

[534] When everyone is ready (and this is always done with great slowness), they sit down on the small seats, and the guests *[192] play the flute of onça /jaguar/ bone (Yaí o'a). Some minutes later their tuxáua makes a speech: -- "We have come to entertain those of the maloca with our dance, and we shall dance as long as the caxiri lasts." He then sounds his kistió /sic/ (ankle snappers, cf. VII-3, c (3a)); it is a sign that the dances

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796 [354] Between the last columns of the maloca a fire burns, which an old Indian stirs up frequently (58).

• [554]

58. In the subdivisions of the tribes (cf. IV-2, a (2)) it fell to those of the last category to keep the fire lighted.

"It is to illuminate the earrings of the dances," they explain to us.

So they spend the night, and one after the other falls from drunkenness, tired and sleepy, while the stronger ones continue dancing. At given moments there is a noise like a fight: the men will beat again on the entrance door. Under the effect of the alcohol there are heard at intervals disorderly shouting, noisy laughter, animated discussions, not infrequently fights and violence or even murders. That atmosphere of excitement and darkness is most conducive to immoral practices (59).

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59. Already at the end of the eighteenth century the Cônego /Canon/ André Fernandes de Souza, vicar of S. Gabriel, was complaining: -- "During their banquets and feasts, there are always spirituous beverages, which they call caxiri, mucururú, pajaauarú and caeçuma, made out of mandioca, batatas, and fruits, with which they get drunk to the point of crapulence" (o. c. p. 486).

[833] At first they perform them more discreetly, going outside the maloca for these relations; later, when they are drunker, they do it even inside the maloca, in the hammocks or on the floor. Generally, however, there is no fecundation in these relations (60).

60. So they assured us, and they attribute

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614 the division of the original group (107).
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107. It is possible that other reasons might have intervened, such as the misunderstandings that are still verified today.

While the first-born son, with his family, would remain beside the old couple, the other sons of the founder would become, in turn, founders of new malocas, which would grow with the natural fecundity of the native woman. This hypothesis, more in agreement with the nature of things, is confirmed, it seems, by the customs.

614 1st. -- A first one is the denomination of "brother" for all the
801 individuals of the same nation (that is, who are recognized as from such-and-such a tribe and speak the same language), a denomination corresponding, besides, to their feelings (they can not marry each other, mutual aid and understanding, lamentation for a death, and vengeance for the brother who has been a victim of another tribe).

All of them are brothers, but there is a distinction between Mamĩ (bigger brother) and Axkabĩ (smaller brother). Among the brothers-german, that is, /472/ children of the same father, the terms mamĩ and axkabĩ correspond to the ages. Outside of this case, they no longer correspond. For example, one hears an
614 adult characterize a child as mami. It is, therefore, a matter of a hierarchic classification.

• 554 An I'ra-pé Tukano said that he regarded the Waú-ro and Oyê
[115] as Mamĩ; in relation to the Waú-ro we heard the expression
* [192] "Tukano of the head," Dexseá ná dõxpoá," as equivalent to the
[601] principal branch, as was soon explained to us by Patrícia Vasconcelos. We have here, then, indications of an aristocracy (108).

[175] 108. The existence of this aristocracy was already known in 1755 by Pe. Noronha. Xavier de Sampaio

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/footnote 108 cont./ in his "Diario" /Diary/ of 1774 (n. 381) says: "The most famous one (of the nations of the Uaupés River) is the Uaupés because of the difference of various degrees of nobility that they admit among them; what serves as the distinction, like a military order, is a very smooth, white stone, cylindrical in shape and pierced in order to pass through it a cord, with which they wear it hanging at the neck. Those of the principals reach up to half a span in length. Those of the nobles are smaller, and those of the common people much smaller. The Uaupés also wear the ears and lower lips pierced."

[304]

the principal consequence of which at present seems to be precedence, whether in the dances, whether in the preference for the tuxauaship, in the case of the coexistence of various subdivisions in the same maloca or povoado. On the basis of such a custom, one can arrange a classificatory chart, which, for the Tukano tribe, for example, would be made up as was seen in IV - 2-a(2), according to the enumeration given in December of 1953 by the octogenarian Tukano of Parí-cachoeira, Gabriel Costa (belonging to the eleventh division of the Ba'ti-tõrõ), an order which, besides, corresponds to information that we obtained from other sources and in different places (109).

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109. When one talks about the last subdivisions with individuals from the first ones, one frequently hears this expression: "They are our slaves." Would they perhaps be groups of different origin which were dominated and absorbed? In some cases this seems to us admissible. For example, the Juruá display quite noticeable somatic differences from the other Tukano. According to the legends they would not have come out of Tõmpa-duri, but

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/footnote 109 cont./ out of another hole at the mouth of a nearby igarapé. The rivers with dark waters, like the Uaupés, form characteristic and abundant foam when they beat against the stones of the cachoeiras. Upon asking a certain individual why there were these inferior divisions, he answered that it is because they did not come out of the water, but from the foam, as if it were from the dregs of depuration.

2nd. -- A second one is that they attribute to themselves a juridical superiority, deriving from the priority in time, something corresponding to the proverb: "qui prior est tempore potior est jure" /one who is first with regard to time is better with regard to rights/. Whoever has settled more recently in a povoado is in a certain inferior position; he is a "transient, Sihyári-maxsã," as they say. [192]

/473/ The two customs indicated harmonize perfectly; we might think that the second one is a derivation from the first. Upon asking a Tukano Indian from a povoado on the lower Tiquié as to the inhabitants of which povoado he considered Mamí, he answered those of S. José. Further inquiries made among other Indians came to clarify this answer. One of them said he had heard his own grandfather narrating that the Tukano formerly did not live there, but resided on the Papurí. They were expelled from this river by the Taryana, still being a child, therefore, about 100 or 120 years ago, and came to settle in S. José. This information makes S. José the first Tukano nucleus on the river Tiquié.

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[103] One more argument in favor of the probability is given to us by the Tukano name of the locality, which is Maxkã, the town, as if it were the urbs par excellence of these Tukano. All the more probable, since such a designation, besides not being attributed to any other locality, escapes the custom of the names according to the geographical accidents (point, igarapé, stone, cachoeira, hole, etc.), or other circumstances. In the vicinity of S. José,

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173 there is a place that in Tukano is called Bũxkõrá bathá, literally
• 554 "swimming of the elders," that is, where the elders crossed the
614 river by swimming, fleeing from their enemies. In the vicinity of this spot, about 30 years ago, the elders showed Pe. João Marchesi a section of less dense forest as being the place through which passed the first Tukano coming from the Tiquié on their expeditions of war.

In conclusion, we give the opinion:

174 1st. -- The natural multiplication of the Indians imposed a
554 division into groups which have established themselves in closer
614 or more distant places, according to the circumstances; for this reason we today find groups of one and the same nation dispersed along the three rivers (Uaupés, Tiquié, and Papurí).

2nd. -- The denominations (110)

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> 110. The distance between these groups has more and more accentuated the separation. If it is true that each individual, even the children, knows the name of his own and of the neighboring subdivisions (and even of other tribes), few of them know how to make a more complete list of the Gentes that make up their tribe.

that characterize each group (Waú-ro, Oyẽ, etc., cf. IV-2-a (2)) are names or nicknames by which the respective stipites, or some late more famous descendant who provoked the separation or built the new maloca or performed any other deed, were known.

[628] 3rd. -- The relations between the malocas, and the social situation of those who /474/ inhabit them today, are the same as those that existed among the founders, hence the present hierarchy that is in force among the Indians.

/474 cont./

554 614 [601] 4th. -- The malocas do not date from the same time, some are earlier and others later, having originated perhaps from some schism. The groups that have been organized more recently always respect the primacy of the older ones, calling them Mamí.

554 614 829 5th. -- The large number of groups that began to appear, however, complicated this hierarchization, hence the practical doubt that assails the Indian in some cases, not being able to say who would have precedence.

797 177 614 2) With the advance of civilization toward those regions, the division is accentuated, and one can discover a double cause for such a fact. The first is the tightening of the family ties and its valorization becoming ever greater, thanks to the support of the religious and civil authorities, and for this reason the family group can already be strong enough by itself. The second is the povoados that appear, consisting of families of different subtribes or even of different tribes. One can foresee, if things go on as they are, that there will no longer be any fusion of tribes, but, instead, a leveling and amalgamation into Brazilian nationality.

This amalgamation is favored not so much by the marriages with the civilized, which up to the present are very rare events, but by the traditional exogamy and knowledge and love of the Brazilian homeland, which has gained ground among these children of the forest, thanks to the work of the Religious Missions and of their schools.

e) Phratrics (sibs) or totemic clans?

619 Just as the Tribe, better called Nation, does not have a chief, neither do its subdivisions, or Subtribes (111),

> 111. Obviously the term Subtribe is improper; just as that of Tribe does not strictly apply to the national assemblage of these natives.

such as we find today, have one. They are not political units, but only ethnic ones.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

coitus. First building a small fire, the couple bathes; they have coitus and bathe again. The ancestral spirits add power to the water, that promotes pregnancy. Because of its connubial use the canoe landing is thus a sanctuary of another kind, at night restricted to those who are going to use it for the proper purpose. When the last married couple has left, the young men take over. They bathe off the canoe landing, sounding the ancestral trumpets that have been hidden somewhere along the river bank. Regular bathing with the horns gives strength and sexual potency.

People arise for the day's activities sometime before dawn. Thereafter, the canoe landing is the scene of secular activity, women and girls drawing water, men readying their canoes for fishing, and the young play pack frolicking. In the high heat of the day the women return from their manioc gardens to bathe and refresh themselves. In effect, there is a secular and a sacred period in canoe landing activities. The secular part of the day is from dawn to a tropical four o'clock in the afternoon, when the first guests may be expected to arrive if there is a drinking party or a ceremony. The sacred part is from after four o'clock until dawn. Even on ordinary days, activities slacken at the river by late afternoon. On ceremonial days the distinction of a sacred and a secular period holds strongly.

BOUNDARIES

The clearing delimits the effective area of habitation, but not the full area of a community. This territory runs along a stretch of river and is usually demarcated by a *caño* or creek. On the Cuduiarí these small tributaries run into the main stream at almost regular intervals. A principal habitation is ordinarily along the main stream, which is the preferred site. However, the requirements of slash-burn horticulture necessitate a periodic circulation allowing for three to five years at each site. Depending upon the particular conformation of the land with respect to the danger of flooding, a community may be able to move along the banks of the main stream, preparing its new clearing adjacent to the old. It may, on the other hand, be forced to move up a *caño*, with its connotation of lower status. If it is required to spend a period in a *caño*, it has a cyclical existence, of being in a relatively poor state when it is off the main stream and returning to an epigone when it re-establishes itself on the main stream. When I came to live among the *Bahúkiwa* they had just come from a *caño* phase and were in an expansive mood at having moved onto the Cuduiarí proper again. *Caño* dwellers are self-conscious; they enter-

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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Caño dwellers are self-conscious; they entertain less and are reluctant to have visitors. I was never invited or encouraged to visit a *caño* dwelling house. I was always told that they did not care to have visitors.

When a headman dies his house is ordinarily abandoned and the new headman undertakes to build a new maloca, since one requirement of the office is his ability to enlist his sibmates in working with him. Abandonment of a house, however, changes mainly the outlines of the clearing if a new site is chosen for the new maloca. A new maloca may be built alongside the old, in which case there is no change at all. Sometimes the new headman decides that the old site was the victim of evil forces and a new clearing is built. But against such a fear is the desire not to abandon still-productive manioc plantations. At all events, a new clearing is normally close enough to the old to ease the transition from last harvest to new harvest. When a site is moved the last harvest is drawn from the old, and cuttings from the old *chagra* (plantation) are planted in the new. Thus there is a transitional period when the community is actually working both clearings. The Cubeo regard this transition period as a difficult one, and until they are drawing a bitter manioc harvest from the new clearing they will be too preoccupied to hold drinking parties. Fruit trees on the old *chagra* are harvested as long as they bear fruit.

The extent of a community's territory is such that it will be able to circulate within it more or less permanently, reoccupying after some 15 years land that has become reforested and so workable again. Boundaries are along a river only. Past the line of cultivation the forest is an undifferentiated darkness.

The traditions of the Cubeo indicate that they were originally dwellers along the Vaupés, the main stream, and that they later moved up the smaller tributaries such as the Cuduiarí and the Querarí. The present distribution of sibs is also interesting in this connection in that high-ranking sibs live along the main stream or along the mouths of the tributaries, whereas the lower-ranking sibs occupy the headwaters of smaller streams. Sib status is definitely associated with location along a river. The back reaches of creeks deep in the forests are the refuge of the weak, whereas the strong occupy a stretch of river that has majesty either by sweep of water or by the character of its rapids. The main site of a sib that has become dispersed is always in a conspicuous part of a river whereas Satellites and Independents often move up small creeks. Father Antonio Giacone of the Salesian Mission has observed that the Tucano (referring to the tribe) never constructed their malocas in creeks but only along the main river. Occupying the main streams, he noted, they

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regarded themselves as the superior of all other Indians who were driven back into the headwaters (Giacone, 1949, p. 5).

Thus the movement of Colombian settlers down the Vaupés River had a markedly disturbing effect upon the Cubeo by dispossessing them from their ancestral river. The first-ranking sibs, however, did not leave their sites at the rapids from whence their ancestors are supposed to have emerged. But in staying on they succumbed most rapidly to the European influence.

Despite their strong orientation toward the river the Cubeo also make use of footpaths. Near the mouth of the Cuduiarí, for example, a trail leads to the Querarí. There are, in fact, many paths in the region that provide short cuts between rivers. Raiding parties come on foot to avoid detection, and paths are used for short journeys. The Cubeo Indian, however, is not, by preference, a walker.

SIZE

The size of a clearing is variable, to a degree, depending upon the number of households and their ambitions for entertaining and for trade with the whites. A headman's household, which is always the most ambitious and is, therefore, the most productive, requires approximately two acres of manioc land for an annual yield of 400 baskets (50–60 pounds per basket). Most households among the *Bahúkiwa* averaged only 200 baskets of manioc a year and utilized accordingly a manioc garden of one acre. A sib center community of 12 households requires more than 12 acres for manioc cultivation as well as several acres more for the plaza and subsidiary cultivations, if the full burden of entertaining is left to one or two households, as is often the case. Satellite communities are often as small as three households and their clearings are proportionately smaller.

The Cubeo community is always small, rarely reaching a population beyond 16 households, a household in every case being limited to a nuclear family. The size of community seems to be a result of a complex series of adaptations of many elements to one another—architectural, ecological, sociological, and psychological. The architectural factor is that a community must be dominated by a single maloca. The largest maloca in the Northwest Amazon region is a 16-household dwelling with eight compartments ranged along each long wall. The smaller dwellings of the Independents can augment the size of a community. The fact is, however, that an Independent household has usually been formed for personal reasons, such as a quarrel with the headman, rather than for reasons of crowding.

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342 The headman is
[592] responsible for the morale of the house. He is aware that its architec-
[622] tural features contribute positively to morale.

The larger the maloca the more comfortable it is. It is cooler, less smoky, freer of insects, and, offering more space per inhabitant than smaller houses, it presents a more orderly appearance. In my observations along the river I have found the smaller malocas to be less tidy than the larger ones.

342 A sib center, unless it is in a state of perilous social disintegration,
614 will have a large maloca with some 12 compartments. Such a maloca
[615] provides minimum accommodations for dances and for ceremonies that will draw upon all or a large part of the phratry. Since higher-ranking sibs entertain more than do lower-ranking sibs they must
342 have larger malocas. Thus, size of maloca tends to correlate with the
614 social standing of the sib. The small maloca is an open acknowledg-
621 ment of social inferiority. The Satellites all have small malocas hous-
554 ing from four to six families. Such a community may be economically
(592) self-sufficient, but it is socially and ritually underprivileged. It can attend ceremonies but is unprepared to carry out ceremonies on the proper phratric scale.

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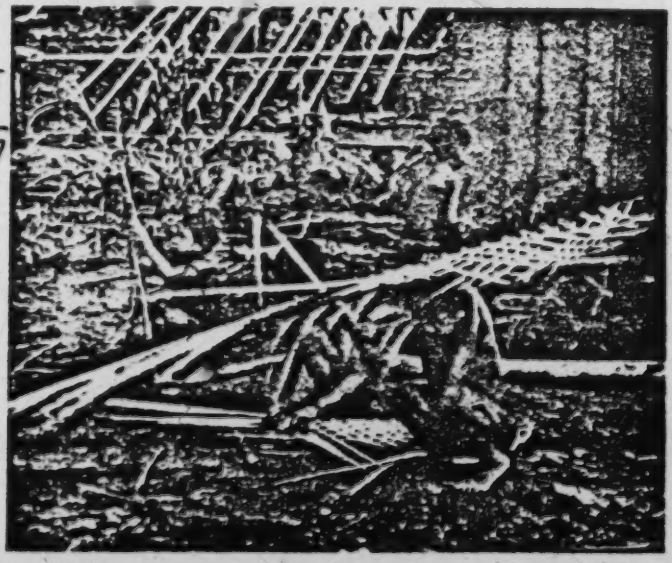

Fig. 2. Children helping in housebuilding.

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342 cloth baskets, and calabash bowls in which the people keep their small
353 possessions. Most houses have a flooring above the main supporting beams to provide storage space for farinha.

342 Malocas are commonly decorated. The front walls at the narrow
353 end are painted with representations of bark-cloth masks that are
531 used in funeral ceremonies, while the interior posts flanking the
532 dance floor receive geometric designs. The *Bahúkiwa*, whose ancestry
[64] may have been that of the more primitive Macú, do not decorate
[184] their houses. The bark-cloth mask designs depict spirit beings, and while their representations on house walls have no specific magical function they do convey to householders the atmosphere of contact with friendly beings. Similar representations are common as petroglyphs. The geometric designs on the house posts are similar to those on dancing tubes, and portray simply an atmosphere of ceremonial gaiety.

342 Ordinary cooking is done over the household hearth, and simple
252 meals are eaten around it. Manioc is prepared at the rear end of the central corridor, where the women wait their turn to share the large communal manioc oven, a circular ceramic plate on pottery supports,
[264] that has been provided by the headman's wife. Most evening meals are eaten communally in the central corridor.

342 Allocation of space in the maloca follows no precise order of
554 status, but as a rule older and socially less active households occupy the rear compartments near the kitchen area, while a headman prefers a central location on either side.

342 At night a fire is kept going at the center of each compartment, and
354 on chilly nights the occupants vie for the comfort of the space just
[513] above the fire. The people sleep fitfully. Someone is always up to tend
[512] the fire and to crouch over it for extra warmth. The day begins several hours before dawn and ends several hours after nightfall.

THE FACTOR OF CORESIDENCE

621 While community and sib are normally coextensive insofar as their
614 male occupants are concerned, there are, nevertheless, permanent
591 male residents of alien sibs in many communities. Widows, for ex-
[768] ample, return to the parental community with their children. There are some cases of matrilocal residence as well. These exceptional but not rare cases provide information on the role of coresidence in regulating social behavior. The question of coresidence is of special interest in the Northwest Amazon region because among tribes that do not have sibs but are organized on the basis of patrilocal families it is

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621 614 582 571 the men who are drawn into the sibling group. The position of a girl resident in an alien sib depends upon whether she has a brother. If she has a brother, his associates, who regard him in a brotherly way, will probably respect his sister as one of their own. If she has no brothers in the community she has still to overcome the reluctance of men to take a wife from nearby. This, too, is no minor obstacle, since an orthodox marriage must ceremonialize the tearing away of a woman from her own community.

THE COMMUNITY OF THE RIVER

361 614 554 The river forms a wider community of related sibs. With some exceptions the sibs have aligned themselves along a river on the basis of degree of closeness and of rank. Sibs that have segmented from a parental sib ordinarily occupy an adjacent site. The river is the most important territory. It is a highway and a link between related sibs, [823] the source of ancestral power, and the economic zone of the men, fish [146] being the main source of animal protein. Even most land animals [224] are hunted along the river banks.

361 823 The orientation of the Cubeo is toward the river and not toward the forest. Whereas the forest is undifferentiated terrain, the rivers are known to every turn and outcrop of rock or other feature. The river is the source of the ancestral powers, of benefits as well as of dangers. The forest is a source mainly of dangers. The river is literally and symbolically a binding thread for the people. It is a source [103] of emergence and the path along which the ancestors had traveled. It contains in its place names genealogical as well as mythological references, the latter at the petroglyphs in particular. For these reasons of sentiment and of symbolic association as well as because of the clear economic value of the river – hunting as well as fishing – the Cubeo have cause to feel that those living along the same river should be people of common descent and, therefore, of common exogamic grouping. It is not accident but strong intent that has grouped the phratries along the same river. Those who join a river will accept membership in a phratry. On the other hand, it is accident that has interrupted the sib homogeneity of the rivers. The *Hürüwd* sib is an intruder on the Cuduiarí River and belongs more properly on the Querarí. It is now the only large alien group on the river. Since it is an established affinal sib it cannot be incorporated into the Cuduiarí phratry as were the apparently alien *Bahúkiwa*. But the *Hürüwd* are drawn into the round of drinking parties and so have slid into what is a pattern of intraphratry activity. Here again we have an example

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Economic Life

ECOLOGICAL SETTING

The Northwest Amazon region abuts on the eastern slopes of the Cordillera Oriental and has an average elevation of some 200–300 meters. Many of its rivers flow quickly and the terrain generally lacks the flat and swampy character of the lowland Amazonian rain forest. The headwaters of the Cuduiarí are within the territory of the Cubeo and apparently arise in a high savannah, an eroded plateau laced with caverns and supporting on its remarkably flat surface only a meager xerophytic vegetation. There are other highlands in Cubeo territory along the Vaupés. Of no economic value to the Indians, the highlands form for them a setting of mystery because of their strangeness and their desert quality, and are held to be the domain of mythological beings.

The Cuduiarí is a narrow river that runs swiftly past several cataracts into the Vaupés. At the peak of the dry season it is barely navigable along its full length. At that time a large canoe is pushed across several inches of water and the river course is beset with sandbanks. The smaller tributaries or *caños* dry up altogether, stranding their low-status occupants seriously. Perhaps this is one reason why the Cubeo associate social standing with frontage along a big river. The Cuduiarí is an intimate river – along much of its length the trees and creepers that line its banks reach overhead to midstream to form a bower. The opposite shore is close at hand and the entire

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From *K'uwaĩ*, the culture hero, the people learned how to fish with hook and line and how to hunt with bow and arrow and with the blowgun. The Indians say that in ancient times they did not hunt the tapir. It was not until they acquired guns that they learned how to kill tapir. Other animals they did not eat because of religious taboos that are no longer in force. Paca and armadillo were devourers of human corpses and were hence forbidden; eating sloth would make people lazy; and finally, all animals whose names were represented in the sib genealogies were taboo to members of that sib.

PRODUCTION

The Cubeo do not value abundance of food for its own sake. Plenty is, to be sure, widely enjoyed as a break in the daily routine. It is not valued for its promise of satiety, for the Indians customarily eat moderately, but for the opportunity it offers for a gay feast. A big catch of game or of fish excites the people because it does not occur often. There is no desire to overdo, however, and no more is brought than will be consumed directly or can be safely preserved by smoking and drying. Since, at best, smoking preserves meat for only a week or two in the tropical climate there is not much point in increasing a fisherman's or a hunter's "take." Social status is a minor issue in food production since feasting is essentially intrasib, whereas social status comes into play most sharply between sibs.

In short, there are no strong motives to stimulate hunting and fishing other than appetite and desire for variety. The pressure in production falls upon the women. If we are to speak of "surplus" at all in Cubeo food production it can be only in connection with the manioc crop, which is regarded as the woman's contribution, even though it is the men who make the clearing. The limiting factor in manioc production is not land as much as it is labor and morale. A large community under a forceful headman can clear a good deal more land than is needed for subsistence. In the case of manioc, subsistence can be measured precisely by the amount that is converted directly to manioc cake (*áuno*) and to tapioca porridge. "Surplus" is what is converted to chicha (*unkúndye*) and to farinha. There can be no doubt but that the machete, now universal in the region, improved the standard of nourishment considerably. The real limitation upon production is woman power. Since women carry through all phases of manioc production, from planting and harvesting to conversion into the final product, they are the ultimate "bottleneck." A woman working only to prepare manioc as food is already fully occupied.

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Another and somewhat more restrictive form of collective fishing is with basket traps in conjunction with a weir. Some household head may have traditional rights to a *caño*, inherited from his father or uncle. He invites men of the sib to place their baskets at the *caño* when the fish are running, usually at the start of the dry season. All sibmen may share this privilege although the obligation to invite holds strictly only within the joint family of brothers. In any event, the catch from the basket traps is eventually shared among all households in the sib.

The technology of fishing is fairly complex, involving skills in making and in maintaining equipment and, of course, expert knowledge of fish and their habits. Nowadays all Indians use commercial fishhooks. All else is native. A father teaches his son by explaining, by showing, and primarily by allowing the boy to accompany him. The basic instruction is individual and direct. A boy who has no father learns from a paternal uncle or grandfather, but he will often not be as deft as one who has his own father as a teacher. An important supplementary mode of learning is within the play pack. Here, unsupervised by adults, the boys practice what they have learned from their fathers, listen to one another's criticisms, and exchange information. The laggard has a chance to catch up.

Because the best fishing is during low water, great stress is laid upon skill in handling the fishing bow and arrow. Every boy toddler is provided by his father with a miniature bow and set of arrows and is set to practice at a fixed target on terra firma. Grown boys practice with adult equipment along the river bank, aiming, if they possibly can, for fish. A boy is always welcome to accompany his father as a companion on a fishing trip, but if he wishes to be a partner he must be reasonably adept. The Cubeo may treat some work as fun but they never confuse it with play. Needless to say, the boys attend very closely to the task of learning river skills.

Every man makes his own equipment – a fishing canoe, line, fish net, basket traps, splint weirs, bow and arrows. There is some trade in these items, but no one is regarded as having reached adult status who is unable to equip himself with these necessities for fishing. Skill in making equipment is acquired by careful observation of others and by helping. As a boy reaches manhood he prepares his equipment, calling upon and freely receiving assistance from elders and from more deft age mates. Fishing lore is acquired gradually.

The Cubeo say that all men are equally skilled at fishing, although to an outside observer differences seem obvious. Leadership in fishing is to them a matter of initiative and personality, not of skill.

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554 Yet a leader of a fishing party may, indeed, ask an elder to come along as an expert. The fact is that expertness is very casually shared, as each fisherman narrates at the end of a day what he accomplished and how he accomplished it.

226 After a great catch, fish are dried and smoked for several days on
796 wooden racks set up outside the house. The entire sib gathers, each
[251] man selects a dried fish, mounts it on a stick, and dances with it. The
[417] dancers wear a headdress of splints that is shaped to resemble a fish
[614] basket and is called *nyukáro*, and also carry dance staffs decorated with feathers of the great fishing birds, the heron and the river eagle.
[237] They sing songs (*máopwa*) honoring the fish. There may be as many as four or five such festivals during the course of the year. I was
[114] told the greatest come when the winter rains have stopped. After the dance they feast on the fish. Curiously, I never witnessed this fish festival, called simply *upañeteno* (festival). The Indians explained that they only have the festival when they are in the mood. The dance is not intended to increase the supply of fish.

226 Not all communities were as well situated for fishing as were those
484 of the Cuduiarí, a well-stocked stream. Other tribes in the area often used distant streams, camping out for long periods of time, living on fish and preserving some of the catch for use at home. Koch-Grünberg, in his travels, encountered many Indians far from home, fishing strange streams (1909, II, 27 ff.). On the Cuduiarí the problem of
226 shortage was felt mainly by the upstream communities at the very
484 bottom of the dry season. These people, however, were then free
574 to fish along unoccupied stretches of the Cuduiarí, camping out or
602 accepting the hospitality of phratry mates for fishing sites and for shelter. If they went to another stream it was generally to the sites of in-laws, where they also had hospitality rights. Thus, kinship, including the affinal and the maternal ties, provides a completely reliable mechanism for interchange of territorial resources.

HUNTING

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[462] Hunting is a secondary masculine pursuit. Whereas every adult male is a fisherman not all are hunters. Hunting attracts naturally the most vigorous age groups, men in their late teens to about 30,
[178] although there are no age restrictions that would bar an old man from joining a hunting party. Hunting may have been more prominent in the past, when only native weapons, spears and blowguns using
[177] curare-tipped darts, were fashionable. Today the Indians hunt with muzzle-loading shotguns that only a few possess because of the ex-

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He brings home the hide for a trophy, for which there is no further use, but the teeth form a girdle that is a mark of high status. Jaguar hunting is strictly voluntary and is not a formal test of manhood. During my stay among the *Bahúkiwa* the headman's son – an aspirant for the position – killed a jaguar with a steel-tipped lance and accepted modestly the moderate acclaim of the community. His explanation was that he wanted to experience what it was like to kill a jaguar.

GARDENING

I have no statistical means for comparing the relative contributions of men and women to the food supply. The general rule is that men provide the bulk of the protein, women the bulk of the carbohydrates.

The Cubeo unhesitatingly regard the man as economically most important. This is surprising, since manioc in its multiple uses as food, chicha, and trade goods is not only the staff of life but the source of intrasib activity, status, and general well-being. My informants pointed out, however, that it is fish which is the important food, and besides, they added, it is the men who make the manioc clearing. Nutritionally they are right. Bitter manioc is a poor food, rich in starch and deficient in protein.

An important distinction between the labor of men and women is in the nature of their economic effort. That of the woman borders on drudgery. Hers is the steady routine of planting, harvesting, washing, scraping, grinding, operating the tipiti press, and, finally, forming the manioc cake and baking it.

On days when only subsistence manioc – that is, the manioc cake – is to be baked, a woman devotes half of all the daylight hours to its preparation, including time in the garden. Her preferred routine is to spend six hours on alternate days in gardening. On the day she gardens, she also spends two or more additional hours in processing the roots. On the second day, however, she works only four hours on manioc. She spends, on the average, 12 hours on manioc over a two-day period. If to this is added hours spent in preparing chicha and farinha, the annual average comes close to nine hours a day. By contrast, men's labor is more flexible in its demand upon time and the quality of effort. However, it would be erroneous to overstress the distinction. There is, after all, variety in the manioc cycle as well.

Women customarily go to their manioc gardens at the same time, leaving the maloca an hour or so after daybreak and after breakfast. Each smears her face with red pigment both as ointment against sunburn and as preventive magic against the jaguar. A woman is

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an who has daughters to help her can prepare a surplus of mash that, covered with banana leaves or stored in a circular bark bin, holds over to the next day. Whatever time a woman spares from manioc cake preparation is immediately absorbed by other duties, among them the making of chicha and farinha, which is simply the manioc routine all over again. When a woman prepares manioc for chicha, however, she has the help of her husband, but only at those stages that are totally distinct from manioc cake preparation. The Cubeo tradition is for men to take no part in *dunu* production, once they have made the clearing. Still, men do help their wives in peeling the manioc tuber. Since the knife has begun to supplant the teeth as a peeling implement, men, who are the most expert in handling knives, feel somewhat more free than formerly to help – but not without embarrassment. I once walked into the house and saw the headman sitting amiably beside his wife and peeling manioc with a knife. Were I a proper Cubeo I would have managed to appear as though I had seen nothing. But the sight was so unexpected I stared. The man flushed and dropped the knife and tuber. Then he collected himself and explained that his wife was not well and so he felt he should help her. He assured me, as his wife smiled, that he never did this ordinarily.

Whereas all women share the same general manioc routine, individual circumstances differ. A young married woman with young children has no one to help her and must work very hard in contrast to an older woman with several daughters who can relieve her of much of the work. A woman with many sons and no daughters has a very heavy burden. The men provide her with a very large garden, they eat heavily, they are sociable and plan drinking parties. An old woman living alone prepares her own small manioc cake ration, and worries rather that she can call on no man to enlarge her manioc garden. Yet in all these individual circumstances one observes leveling factors as well. The household with very young children eats less, has less need to entertain, and has smaller trade needs. The household with grown daughters eats more, entertains more – suitors and their parties for example – and has great needs for trade goods, skirts, and ornaments for the girls. The household with many men has greater access to trade goods through their wage labor and saves on farinha. An old woman living alone may eat with her close kin and so devote her manioc production entirely to farinha, if she desires. There are no significant differences in manioc cake consumption. Families differ only in the rather small prestige of owning trade goods and in

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592 554 [433] providing drinking parties. While prestige is not a negligible factor in motivating production it is secondary to subsistence needs.

Compared to manioc, all other subsistence horticulture is of trifling 291 significance. The list of Cubeo cultivations besides manioc is a lengthy 262 one, but except for the pupunha palm there is nothing on it that adds bulk to the diet. Crops cultivated by the Cubeo include bitter manioc (*kerika*), yam (*nydmu*), sweet potato (*yapika*), maize (*kardiye*), and tabena (*mwa*), as well as the following unidentified tubers: *kwaindryo, waiwari, mod, pudjü, kundka,* and *kabéka*. In addition there are sugar cane (*kawámene*), pineapple, (*ihlibo*), banana (*djwéye*), plantain (*óne*), pupunha (*uné*), gourd (*horóbe*), calabash [273] (*hahámu*), coca (*patü*), tobacco (*butel*), and capsicum (*bya*). The [415] pupunha palm is important only as an ingredient in chicha. Gourds serve as vessels, and yams, sweet potatoes, sweet manioc, and maize barely supplement the diet. Sugar cane has become a most important ingredient to chicha, and every community grows several varieties of [273] melons. Most of the starchy tubers the Cubeo grow are used to lend variety to chicha, not to the solid diet.

241 The Cubeo, as I have already observed, have a very strong feeling for domestication. This covers plant as well as animal life. They are eager to plant anything that comes recommended and to follow the [272] advice of experts. Some have planted coffee shrubs, although no one drinks coffee and they have no other use for the bean. One man built an immense box on stilts which he filled with earth so that he could plant onions safe from pests. Neither he nor anyone else in his com- [462] munity cared for onions. Sugar cane, as already noted, is mainly a male cultivation, but all other food products except for manioc may be grown equally by either men or women. No plant is neglected and the busiest woman seems to have time to look after her plantings, which may be scattered all over the secondary clearing or inner plaza. [431] The produce of these scattered plantings, a melon or two, a handful [621] of sweet potatoes, are often given as gifts from one household to an- [857] other. Children, too, have their plantings.

Finally, every household has chickens, descended from stock 235 brought in by white settlers. Chickens belong to women, mainly, I believe, because that is what the Colombians and Brazilians thought [262] was proper. Although the Indians take good care of the chickens they [439] do not ordinarily eat them, regarding them either as pets or trading them to the occasional white man who comes by. In some communities, chickens roost in nearby trees – others provide roosting places in the maloca. A few communities rear ducks in the same manner,

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home from the garden represents her carrying capacity. These are the technical problems. They are not inherently formidable, except in terms of the traditional sexual division of labor of the Cubeo. The men who make the original clearing can call upon group labor and they have the spare time. If increase in manioc cultivation were only a matter of preparing a clearing it would be relatively easy for any community to double its present zone of planting. The Cubeo, however, must calculate the size of a clearing in accordance with how much land the women of a household, working independently, can cultivate. On her part, the woman does not cultivate more than she can handle in the course of her accustomed routine. In manioc cultivation each household is autonomous; and while a woman can call upon the help of another woman when she is not well there is simply no collective or cooperative organization to help harvest, bring in, and process the crop. The headman who has the authority to direct the masculine work party that prepares the clearing has no jurisdiction over the work of the women. And neither does anyone else.

Nor does the nature of demand place much pressure upon manioc production. Under ideal conditions at least two-thirds of the manioc crop is for food. The rest is divided between chicha and farinha. Since the Cubeo are moderate eaters and do not have the custom of feasting outsiders, the demand for manioc as food is inelastic. There is only a little more elasticity in the demand for chicha. Although the drinking party is a principal means for binding the sibs it cannot be said that increasing the quantity of chicha consumed at a party or adding to the traditional number of parties would promote additional sib cohesiveness. In this instance a law of diminishing returns may be said to operate.[3] In any case, since each sib assumes some of the responsibility for entertaining the others, the burden of supplying the chicha is phratry-wide. The poorer sibs entertain less often than do the richer ones.

It is in the production of farinha that some elasticity in demand may be expected. Farinha, as the Cubeo equivalent of a "cash crop," pays largely for vanity articles, ornaments that have no traditional sanction, but also for cloth petticoats, that have now become customary apparel. However, this aspect of production for the market is also socialized. The goods a woman acquires from the sale of her farinha are largely committed to the intricate network of gift exchanges that apply between husband and wife, brother and sister, and between ceremonial friends of opposite sex. In a general way

[3] See the chapter on the drinking party.

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614 came to be known as *Bwübekúdjo* (*Bwü* the Ancient). The *Byari-Hehénewa* took him captive. Sometime later, the *Hehénewa*, coming to visit their kin, determined to rescue the boy. They did so, killing off the *Byari-Hehénewa* who were holding him. They released
614 *Bwübekúdjo*, giving him two *Borówa* (Macú) women as wives. The
648 *Borówa* were then servants of the *Hehénewa*. The Macú women bore *Bwübekúdjo* ten children. It was from the males of this sibling group that the *Bahúkiwa* sib was reconstituted.

614 This concession of kinship alliance with the Macú stigmatizes the
648 *Bahúkiwa* as an inferior sib even though the descent is still in the
554 male line. Normally, Cubeo used *Borówa* women sexually but did
[611] not marry them. The *Bahúkiwa* do not concede that they are *Borówa*. And I learned early in my stay among them that nothing was more offensive than to even hint that someone was *Borówa*. The *Hehénewa* had told Koch-Grünberg that the *Bahúkiwa* were *Borówa* who had assimilated themselves to the Cubeo and were still to be regarded with contempt (1909, II, 136). No *Hehénewa* made this observation to me, but possibly out of courtesy since I was living with the *Bahúkiwa*.

614 The origin of the *Bahúkübwauwü*, a subsib of the *Bahúkiwa*, is also attributed to an act of kindness by a fellow sib, in this case at the hands of the second-ranking *Aúnbwawü*. In the course of an attack on them, all but one *Bahúkiwa* girl were killed. She was suc-
614 cored by the *Aúnbwawü*, among whom she lived until she married.
611 The narrator claimed that no one knew whom she had married, a lapse of information of utmost importance, since the point of the story is that despite patriliny a woman can also re-establish a sib. She bore eight children and they and their descendants took the name of *Bahúkübwauwü*. Descent then reverted to patriliny.

615 The Cubeo view of the phratry, as revealed by the traditions, is
614 of a grouping of essentially autonomous sibs into a loose fraternity that takes its sanction not from descent from a common ancestor but emergence from a common place. The genealogical relationship determines sib identity, but it is geography that determines phratric identity. The principal idea that is expressed is that the closer the sibs were spatially at the time of emergence the closer should be their present fraternal bonds. Thus, the traditions draw fine distinctions between emergence from the very same crevice on the rocks, from the same rapids, and from the same river. Unfortunately for our in-
615 terest in reconstructing tribal history, the traditions lack consistency.
614 This inconsistency reflects perhaps the ethnic heterogeneity of the
174 region, which, together with the lack of a central source for tradition,

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places upon each sib the responsibility for describing its own history. To be sure, the custom of reciting a sib origin tradition at the regular drinking parties that bring the sibs of a phratry together has probably had the effect of eliminating major discrepancies. I suspect that there are two kinds of sib traditions, those that are recited publicly and so have official standing and those that are talked about and ruminated about within the privacy of the sib or at small multi-sib gatherings. I do not, however, have a collection of official origin traditions. Another reason for discrepancies is that the origin traditions are the most important sanctions for regulating current relationships among sibs. If sibs are close now it is, in Cubeo thought, because they were close in the past; if they are distant now it is surely because of some event in the past, at the time of emergence. The more friendly sibs feel toward one another the closer do they bring together their first origins. When they quarrel they call attention to the initial distance in their origins.

Nevertheless, there are orthodox versions of sib histories that do acknowledge differences in origin. The sibs of what I call Phratry I form two divisions, according to some traditions. One group of sibs is sometimes referred to as *Yavimanawa* (Children of the jaguar).[6] This group, consisting of *Órobawa*, *Aúnbwawũ*, *Hehénewa*, *Wathariwa*, *Byá-Wathariwa*, and *Byá-Hehénewa*, is supposed to have emerged together at *Yavíbebo* (Place of the jaguars), a site at the Uaracapuri cataract. The remaining sibs of the phratry had different origins and are not, as far as I could learn, identified by a distinctive name. The *Yavimanawa*, according to this particular tradition, form the core of the phratry, while the others are secondary members. The distinction is not without significance. The rule of exogamy, of course, holds for all members of the phratry. All phratry mates will refer to one another as *pakomá* (kinsman), and will entertain one another and offer ready hospitality. Sibs that are close in origin entertain one another more frequently and can depend upon one another to honor drinking party invitations.

In short, the relationship among the sibs of a phratry is far from uniform, but ranges from a degree of closeness akin to that holding among common residents to such distance that the rule of exogamy can be called into question. The *Hehénewa*, for example, discounting *Bahúkiwa* assertions of closeness, claim that they are so distant from

[6] This reference to "Children of the jaguar" has, of course, an honorific reference. There is, however, another usage that is derogatory and that is when it is applied to the Macú. Ciacone (1949, p. 88) reports that Tucanos, Tarianas, and Desanas say that the Macú are not people at all but are *filhos da onca*.

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615 614 the *Bahúkiwa* that intermarriage is possible. The *Bahúkiwa*, for their part, deny this. I could obtain, however, no record of a marriage between the *Bahúkiwa* and *Hehénewa*. I am inclined to attribute such discrepancies to considerations of prestige. The high-ranking *Hehénewa* emphasize distance, the low-ranking *Bahúkiwa*, closeness, between their respective sibs.

615 614 554 [301] The Cubeo phratry is particularly interesting because of its hierarchical organization. Ranked sibs suggest a hierarchical social structure and hence a political organization of some complexity. Neither, as we have already observed, is actually present among the Cubeo. Insofar as I could determine, the leading sibs of a phratry had no actual jurisdiction over any of the lower-ranking sibs, nor was there any formal way in which the rank order of sibs was expressed other than by listing, and by some prestige privileges that allowed only the high-ranking sibs, up to and including the *Hehénewa*, to wear the quartz cylinder pendant on their breasts. Among the low-ranking *Bahúkiwa* no one possessed the jaguar-tooth or the armadillo-vertebrae girdles either.

The hierarchy of sibs is consistent with a kinship stress upon seniority of birth that distinguishes older and younger siblings, but it seems at variance with a very strong feeling for equality, with the absence of deferential behavior, and with other marked symbols of social status. There are, nevertheless, intimations of rivalries within the phratry among sib headmen, in which one accuses the others of [177] seeking power over the phratry. White influence may be responsible for this, since the authorities hope to be able to deal with a single chief rather than with each small sib. Even so, it may well be that [721] the groundwork for phratric leadership has been laid down by the hierarchical organization. We do have a tradition that the *Hehénewa* once made an unsuccessful military effort to establish political authority over the entire Cuduiarí.

614 [613] The character of the Cubeo sib is such that it is a moot point whether we are dealing with a true patrilineal sib or with a patrilineage. From the Cubeo point of view, the descent group has lineage features. It is small, it is generally localized, its members have the strongest feelings of kinship identification, and they claim not merely descent from a common ancestor but they produce genealogies to establish such a connection. At some time during the year, an old [867] man gathers all the young males, from the age of six on, together in the evening and each night for a month teaches them the sib genealogy. The genealogies, however, begin from the past and never actually connect with the present. The interest of the Cubeo in present

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614 time and then have drawn to them new sibs from peoples speak-
619 ing the same as well as other languages. The Cubeo tribe, as we have
174 already observed, seems to be an aggregate of Tucanoan-speaking, Arawakan-speaking, and "Macuan"-speaking peoples. A particular sib that belongs to one tribe today may incorporate itself into another tomorrow.

614 It is possible that sib formation in the Northwest Amazon region
174 has been an outgrowth of this process of repeated assimilation of new groups. The reasoning behind this assumption is as follows: patrilocal extended families need only assert and maintain a tradition of common origin and then live up to the requirement of maintaining a firm group identity, within a confederation, to make the transition to sib or clan. The suggestion is, however, that sib formation cannot be accounted for merely by the growth of extended patrilocal families or by the enlargement of lineages – because of the ease of fission – but rather as a response to quite another process, that of confederation in which the identity of the joining segments is retained. A confederation of descent groups heightens the probability that all will defend their autonomy by asserting their identity of common descent.

THE SIB AND PHRATRIC ORGANIZATION

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554 The sibs are listed in approximate order of rank. This rank order should be considered as provisional, since it represents mainly the *Bahúkiwa* view of sib rank.
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PHRATRY I

Órobawa The leading sib: they still live at Uaracapurí on the Vaupés, the site of a rapids from which they first emerged. Their first male ancestor was called *Órobakü*. According to one version of the origin tale, he was the head of the anaconda from which all Cubeo are descended. He then named all the sibs of the phratry that followed after him. Koch-Grünberg identified them as *Olaba-Hehénewa* and hence as a branch of the *Hehénewa*. Nimuendajú listed them as *Órobawa*. According to my information, they are most closely linked with the *Hwáni-Hehénewa* and with the *Aúnwewa*, the easternmost or most downstream community of the Cubeo.

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Aúnbwawü The second sib, occupying the next site upstream on the Vaupés at Urania. Their first ancestor was *Aúnkü*. Some informants said that *Aúnkü* was the last to emerge but was granted second place by *Órobakü*. In any case, their position on the Vaupés gives them second rank. They are regarded as very closely linked with the *Hehénewa*. In 1940 they were reduced to four households. Some had taken up residence

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at Pindaíva on the Cuduiarí. Nimuendajú's reference to the *Ambo-mamára* on the Cuduiarí, whom he did not visit personally, may refer to this Cuduiarí group. The Vaupés group is not mentioned in either his or Koch-Grünberg's lists.

Hehénewa In the present social structure, the *Hehénewa* represent the largest grouping of sibs of this phratry. From the traditions, it is not unlikely that the *Hehénewa* were once an independent tribe which joined with other groups to form the present phratry. When Koch-Grünberg visited them in 1903 he came to regard them as the "true" Cubeo. They have, even today, the highest prestige on the Cuduiarí and are, to my knowledge, the only group on this river authorized to wear the quartz cylinder pendant. According to native traditions, they came originally from the Papurí River and were not Cubeo but Tucano, known as the *Xwéve-Hehénewa* or *Toucan-Hehénewa*. Their origin site on the Papurí is known as *Wahúdja impemáni*. They were adopted into the phratry by the *Orobawa*. The story goes that the *Hehénewa* heard the *Orobawa* sounding the ancestor trumpets. They were attracted by the music – a sign of kinship – and when they came close they were adopted. Another version of the tradition emphasizes the close kinship of the *Hehénewa* with the other Cubeo sibs that emerged at Uaracapurí. This notes that the *Hehénewa* had the intention of emerging at the traditional site but were prevented from doing so by the hostility of others. Therefore they emerged at a distance and came to join their rightful kinsmen later. The *Hehénewa* now occupy sites all along the Cuduiarí, but are concentrated at the lower Cuduiarí and have a maloca on the Vaupés near Urania close by the *Aúnbwawü*.

Byá-Hehénewa A subsib of the *Hehénewa* who live at the mouth of the Cuduiarí.

Wathariwa The *Bahúkiwa* regard them as distant members of the phratry, linking them rather more closely with the *Hehénewa* and the *Aúnbwawü*. They emerged at *Bydánkwe*, a rapids on the Vaupés. Their first Ancient was called *Kwábebo*. They still live on the Vaupés at *Uacurára*, near Tatú *cachoeira*, and at *Umarí* just below. Koch-Grünberg located them above Uaracapurí falls, an upstream location more appropriate to their standing in the phratry.

Byá-Wathariwa A subsib of the *Wathariwa* on the Vaupés.

Urárariwa Perhaps a subsib of the *Wathariwa* on a small stream of the Vaupés.

Bahúkiwa They list their emergence site as *Impenáni* on the Uaracapurí falls of the Vaupés. Their first Ancient was *Burú* and his sister was *Oúpwéndoko*. They now consist of several subsibs occupying sites along the middle Cuduiarí. Koch-Grünberg referred to them as *Bahúna* and identified them as a Macú group (*Boróca*) who wandered into the Cuduiarí and became fully assimilated into the Cubeo, giving up their original language. *Bahúkiwa* traditions do, indeed, refer to an episode in the history of the sib when, having been virtually wiped out by an enemy raid, the last survivors married *Borówa* women and so regenerated the sib. They deny any imputation, however, that they were ever low-caste *Borówa*. The term Macú, which is the colloquial form of *Borówa*, is commonly used in the region as an epithet.

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is commonly used in the region as an epithet. The *Bahúkiwa* regard the *Órobawa* as their "head."

Bahúküdjauwü A subsib of the *Bahúkiwa* living just downstream from the *Bahúkiwa*, at a site commonly known as Yasitara. They had originally been one with the *Bahúkiwa*, but separated from them when they came up the Cuduiarí and established a Satellite community up a small tributary, Cucúra *igarapés*.

Bahukuonówa A subsib of the *Bahúküdjauwü* living near Yasitara on the Cuduiarí.

Bahúkübuauwü A subsib of the *Bahúkiwa* who are also known by the derogatory connotation of *Mánapuänwa* (Trail people) or *Mánawa*. According to the traditions, they were not Cubeo but a nomadic group, perhaps Macú, who had come to the Cuduiarí overland, and whose emergence site was the Quererí *miri*, a small tributary of the Cuduiarí. The *Bahúkiwa* adopted them and gave them personal names from their own sib genealogy.

[648] [563] [551]

Pedíkwa A subsib of the *Hehénewa* on the Cuduiarí above the *Bahúkiwa* sites. According to the traditions, they came originally from the Papurý River with the *Hehénewa* and then settled at Itapinima or *Toidibü*, at which rapids they had a second emergence. They say their first Ancient was *Djurédo* of the *Hehénewa*. They did not like him and so they separated. They are also known as *Pedí-Hehénewa* because they emerged at *Pedíwa*, a rock at Itapinima. Koch-Grünberg encountered them in the same site they now occupy. He says they were once enemies of the Cubeo. They now include five Satellite communities living upstream from them on the Cuduiarí. They are also known as *Piátokaüo*.

Kenánikauwü A subsib of the *Pedíkwa* on the upper Cuduiarí at *Piramiri* and at *Abühakü*. They used to live at *Toidibü* but broke off and moved upstream. They do not appear on either Koch-Grünberg's or Nimuendajú's lists.

Kenámbwawa A subsib of the *Pedíkwa* living on the upper reaches of the Cuduiarí.

Utciwaiwa Their emergence site was the Yurupari *cachoeira* that is upstream and at some distance along the Vaupés from Uaracapurí. Having come from a different emergence site they were originally not in the phratry. They were drawn into the phratry by a pact of friendship with the *Bahúkiwa*. They now live at the mouth of the Miritî *igarapés* below the Yurupari falls on the Vaupés. Koch-Grünberg found them on the Dyi *igarapés*, an adjacent tributary of the Vaupés. They may be the same as the *Bucibowa* mentioned on the Vaupés by Nimuendajú. Their first ancestor was called *Utciwehwedi*. They are also included as a sib in one of the phratries of the Tucano tribe.

Baryáwatiwaiwa A sib that emerged from Yurupari *cachoeira* on the Vaupés and is related to the *Utciwaiwa*. They are also known as *Baryáwa* and still live on the Vaupés.

Piarúwa A sib that emerged at Uaracapurí rapids, from a particular site called *Mumikü*. They live at Miritî *cachoeira* on the Vaupés and at the headwaters of the Muchú, a left-bank tributary of the Vaupés. They have some personal names in common with the *Hehénewa* but are most closely associated with the Kompainyewa.

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associated with the *Kompainyewa*. Koch-Grünberg found them on the left bank of the Vaupés at a site called *Naibö*, where they were known in the *lingoa geral* as *Tokandira-Tapuyo*. He recorded their self-name as *Olá-Piaráwa*. Nimuendajú incorrectly placed them on the Cuduiarí.

Pyéndo-Hehénewa A dissident sib of the *Hehénewa* group, maintaining no friendly relations with the other *Hehénewa*. Their close sib ties are with the *Pedíkwa* and the *Kenánikauwü*. They occupy several sites above Patú at the headwaters of the Cuduiarí, the main maloca being at Querarí *miri* (*Enpanáwe*). They are also at *Abúhudjo* on the Yuruparí *miri* and are known also as *Pyéndokauwü*.

Hwáni-Hehénewa A *Hehénewa* subsib on the Vaupés at Paraná *picuna* and at Tukano *cachoeira*. Their origin site is *Impenáni* of the Uaracapurí *cachoeira* and they are, therefore, closely related to the *Órobawa* and the *Aúnwewa*, in contrast to the *Hehénewa* proper, whose emergence was actually on the Papurý.

Aúnwewa A subsib of the *Aúnbuwü* on the Vaupés at *Upyaria* just above Mitú. Nimuendajú incorrectly placed them on the Cuduiarí and referred to them as *Aweéa*. They are also listed as a sib of a Tucano phratry.

Kompainyewa Closely linked with the *Piaráwa*, they live at Pindaíva on the Vaupés just above Urania near the Yuruparí falls. Their emergence site, however, is Uaracapurí.

Abúxo-Hehénewa A sib on the upper Querarí mentioned by Koch-Grünberg, on which I have no information.

Ambomamára A sib on the Cuduiarí mentioned by Nimuendajú, on which I have no information. From the name it would appear to be a subsib of the *Aúnbuwü*.

Byarí-Hehénewa An extinct subsib of the *Hehénewa*, who had lived on the Cuduiarí as well as at Uarúa Lake on the upper Vaupés. They were also known as *Byarídowa*.

Papuli-Hehénewa A sib living on the Cuduiarí during the time of Koch-Grünberg's visit at Suriburoca but now extinct. They came from the Papurý and were closely linked with the Tucano tribe of the Tiquié River.

Kenámbuwawa A sib on the upper Cuduiarí, presumably a subsib, along with the *Kenánikauwü*, of the *Pedíkwa*.

Phratry I consists of two divisions that represent distinct origins. In the past these two divisions may have been intermarrying, because even now, although the entire phratry is exogamic, informants disagree as to the proprieties of intermarriage between the two divisions. The dominant division from the point of view of prestige and of numbers is known as *Yavímanawa* (Children of the jaguar) and includes the *Órobawa*, *Aúnbuwawü*, *Hehénewa*, *Wathariwa*, and their subsibs: *Byá-Hehénewa*, *Byá-Wathariwa*, *Pedíkwa*, *Kenánikauwü*, *Utciwaiwa*, *Pyéndo-Hehénewa*, *Hwáni-Hehénewa*, and *Aúnwewa*. The second division has no name and consists of the *Bahúkiwa* groups, the *Piaráwa*, and the *Kompainyewa*.

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PHRATRY II

Bwoibowa The leading sib of the phratry, living at Muchú on the Vaupés. According to tradition, they came from the Isana River originally. They emerged at a rapids called *Aíndoribo* at a site called *Hobónoburúno*. Originally they fought with the *Byówa*, now a sister sib of the phratry. Koch-Grünberg encountered an abandoned maloca of theirs at Uarúa Lake, where they had been living adjacent to the Tucanoan-speaking but non-Cubeo *Pamóa*. The indications are that they had moved in recent years considerably downstream on the Vaupés.

Byówa A group occupying all of the Pirabatón, an affluent of the Querarí. Koch-Grünberg placed them at the headwaters of the Querarí, but since he had not identified the Pirabatón that may be the river that he called the upper Querarí. They are strongly intermarried with *Bahúkiwa*.

Hürüwá Members of a foreign phratry living on the Cuduiarí, where they occupy a number of upriver sites, having replaced a *Hehénewa* subsib. They emerged from a site called *Kohédariwa* above Uaracapurí on the Vaupés. Koch-Grünberg met them in the same locations on the Cuduiarí. He claimed they were originally Arawakan-speaking Baniwa who had wandered in from the Vaupés.

Wadjá-Hürüwá A subsib of the *Hürüwá* at *Kwitóro* on the Cuduiarí.

Korówa Primarily a Querarí River sib that had spilled over onto the Cuduiarí at one time. Wallace reported them there in 1853. They are closely linked with, and according to Koch-Grünberg politically subordinate to, the *Byówa*. In more recent times they have settled on the Vaupés, where they have also been reported by Nimuendajú. They also had a house on the lower Cuduiarí. They are known as *Korókoro-Tapuyo* (Green Ibis Indians).

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Walúola A group mentioned by Nimuendajú as living on the Vaupés. Presumably a subsib of the *Korówa*.

Mianáwa A group occupying several sites in the vicinity of the Tukunaré *igarapés* on the upper Vaupés — *Makakinyo, Jacaré, Seima* — as well as at Pirabatón *igarapés*. Koch-Grünberg found a small group of only four families living at the Yuruparí falls on the lower Vaupés. Nimuendajú also found them on the Vaupés.

PHRATRY III

Djurémawa Nimuendajú has identified them as the *Yiboya-Tapuyo* of the Aiarí River in Brazil. He says they came to the mouth of the Querarí on the Vaupés in 1904. According to Koch-Grünberg, they were once hostile Arawakan Baniwa who had assimilated to Cubeo and are close kin of the *Káua* of the Aiarí. The Uanana, Koch-Grünberg reports, call them *Alaxka-Pinopona* (Boa).

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Tóriawü A sib on the Querarí, originally Arawakan-speaking, that claims to have come from the Isana.

Konéntaraboiwü According to Koch-Grünberg, who referred to them as *Koldtalapocuo*, they were Baniwa Arawakans who settled on the Querarí and assimilated to the Cubeo language. He noted that they were intermarried with the *Hehénewa* of the Cuduiarí. The *Bahúkiwa* also married them. Nimuendajú mentions a *Kowitárabewi* on the Querarí, perhaps the

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same people, or possibly a subsib, since I have in my lists an unidentified *Kowétarabawũ* on the Querarí.

Yániwa A sib at the mouth of the Querarí. Nimuendajú also noted them on the Querarí as *Dyaniwa*.

Yokóktibewũ A sib on the lower Querarí.

UNIDENTIFIED SIBS

Batówa Koch-Grünberg found them at the mouth of the Cubiú *igarapés*, a tributary of the Vaupés, and called them a small "horde" that had come from the Querarí. I did not hear of them. Nor are they mentioned by Nimuendajú.

Ilhéadowa A group mentioned by Koch-Grünberg and later by Nimuendajú, but not on my lists. Nimuendajú says they were once Macú and placed them on the Cuduiarí, which he did not explore, but which Koch-Grünberg and I did. Koch-Grünberg did not locate them on the Cuduiarí, but recorded a visit of some from Puranga *paraná* on the Vaupés to the *Hehénewa* of the Cuduiarí.

Kúua A Cubeo group whom Koch-Grünberg encountered on the upper Aiarí. They lived in a maloca at Yurupari *cachoeira*. The Siusi called them *Maulirni*. They were, said Koch-Grünberg, originally Arawakans from the Querarí and then became Cubeo-speaking. Since moving to the Aiarí near the Siusi they have returned to the use of Arawakan. They are closely related to the *Djurémawa*, but they are not in my lists.

THE *BORÓWA*

The *Borówa*, who are more generally known as Macú, were once servants or menials of various sibs of the Cubeo. This is no longer the case since, as many Cubeo informants said, the *Borówa* came to be too troublesome and they were allowed to leave. There was fear of *Borówa* sorcery and that was another reason for sending them away. The Cubeo say that the *Borówa* had come to them voluntarily and offered to work for them in return for food, shelter, and protection against enemies. Individual household heads took in individual *Borówa* or a man and wife pair. The *Borówa* did all the everyday work. They fished, their women worked in the manioc garden, they fetched water and firewood. They lived in the house with the Cubeo and were to all intents and purposes members of the household. They even made their own chicha. The Cubeo claim they did not intermarry with *Borówa*, although this statement is belied by a sib tradition that the *Bahúkiwa* were once given *Borówa* wives. The view is that it was improper to marry such lowly people. One man not very long ago had eight *Borówa* men and women attached to his household.

Once the practice of keeping *Borówa* had become established, they

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614 although they understood the *Órabawa* usage very well. The *Pedíkwa*
● [554] are, of course, a sib with high status because they occupy a cataract on the Cuduiarí that they regard as an original emergence site. The *Kenánikawü* are a subsib of the *Pedíkwa*. In the case of these two sibs I would hazard the guess that it is their present association with an emergence site that warrants this respect usage. In the case of the *Piardwa* I have no explanation other than the suggestion from Koch-Grünberg's information that since they call themselves *Olá-Piardwa* they may actually be a subsib of the *Órabawa* and hence have a special claim to respect.

In the neighboring Tucano tribe the seniority usages among the sibs of each phratry are very systematically developed (Fulop, 1955). By comparison the *Bahúkiwa* seniority respect usages with other sibs are only fragmentary.

561 Distinctions of relative age have their counterparts in behavior.
571 Seniority commands precedence in succession to the headmanship
[622] in the household of the headman. In all households seniority is ac-
[857] corded respect and ritual precedence. Among children, the eldest of
[614] a play group is expected to be leader. When members of a sib come
[796] to attend a ceremony at another sib house they present themselves at the door in order of seniority and are greeted by a receiving line also formed in order of seniority. During the early stages of a cere-
[622] mony, when all is still formal, chicha, coca, tobacco, and *mihí* are also passed among sibmates in order of seniority. Seniority cannot be said to confer authority, however, since the Cubeo are reluctant to endow anyone with authority. Even the headman governs by a principle that is not quite that of authority.

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562 As between men and women, seniority has a different significance,
796 because of the ritual separation of the sexes. In the etiquette of ceremony women take precedence according to the order of precedence
[622] of their husbands and not by their own relative age. The wife of a headman has a position vis à vis the women of the house as her husband has in the sib generally. An older sister who has been a substi-
[593] tute mother to all her younger siblings is regarded by them with a mixture of respect and affection. In later years, should she return to
[614] the sib as a widow, a divorcée, or with her husband, a ceremonial
[553] role is open to her as sib "mother," from whose breast may be drawn the ritual milk that an infant drinks at the time a sib name is being bestowed upon it.

593 A younger sister has a special role with respect to an older brother.
561 She is often assigned to him for use in an exchange that will bring
584 him a bride. As an older sister is a "mother" to her younger brother

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term has apparently taken on a masculine meaning and *amikó* is used to specify the female. A term *amikû* does not exist to my knowledge. With the loss of the possessive prefix *hi* some of the intimacy has gone out of the term. Nevertheless, being diplomatic in their use of kinship terms, the Cubeo sometimes employ the form *himámiyo* and so give the term a warmer tone.

Finally, the most distant usage is to employ only the stem *mamû* ("older one") equally to male and female to connote the barest sibling relationship. I never heard this term used because, I suppose, the Cubeo find it too formal. Rather than call a person *mamû* they prefer the more cordial *pakomá* (kinsman). The special respect use of this term for men of the head sib has already been described.

The junior sibling term is rather unusual. I am inclined to regard it as a quasi-kinship term because it has equally a kinship and an age-grade connotation. *Hwainyó* means literally "one who is in the class of youths." Like *amiyó* it can refer to females, but *hwainkó* is the special term for a younger sib and phratry sister. Because it is an age-grade term, the kinship meaning of *hwainyó* is so wide that it has come to mean any person of sib or phratry who is younger, either by relative age within one's generation or is of a younger generation. When it is used as the reciprocal for *amiyó*, as a respect term, it refers to one to whom one condescends somewhat as a donor or good Samaritan. It would seem that the Cubeo have developed only the senior term as a true kinship term and have given seniors the prerogative of addressing all their juniors, whether by age or status, simply as "youth." Nor is the term bound by phratry, since it is applied to all grandchildren (male or female) who are not of the lineage. *Hwainyó* also means son-in-law and any nephew or niece. *Hwainkó* is the daughter-in-law. *Hwankû* is a serviceable male form giving it somewhat greater intimacy and thus is limited generally to younger men of one's own sib or of closely related sibs. The abbreviated form *hwa*, a more jocular term, is also used.

BROTHER-SISTER RELATIONSHIP

Lineage brothers and sib brothers are joined by all the strong bonds of a localized patrilineal sib organization. The obligations of lineage brothers toward one another are very little less binding than those of blood brothers, and the obligations of sib brothers, while somewhat less binding, are still considered to be strong. But these brotherly ties are general and taken for granted, whereas the relationship between brother and sister, as indeed that between husband

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the Cubeo headman is lacking in precisely those attributes that in other parts of the world have traditionally played a prominent part in political evolution.

The two terms, *habókü* and *kenámi upákü*, meaning, respectively, a man of substance and "owner of the house," illustrate the conceptual range in Cubeo leadership. The *habókü* is the leader, whose presence, enhanced by a muscular physique, commands respect, who has undisputed skill in hunting, in fishing, in crafts, and who commands ceremonial lore. He possesses the full range of ceremonial regalia, feather headdresses, necklaces, and girdles. His equipment is of the best quality and in excellent condition. The *kenámi upákü*, on the other hand, is simply the head of the maloca. The *habókü* is apt to be head of the house, but a house head need not be *habókü*, although as a leader he will possess some *habókü* attributes. Thus not all headmen qualify as *habókü*. Those of higher-ranking sibs, such as the *Órabawa*, *Aúnbwawü*, and *Hehénewa*, usually do, and those of lower-ranking sibs, such as the *Bahúkiwa*, usually do not. The existence of a concept of *habókü* is a spur to the ambition of a headman, although the status is honorific only. The *habókü* commands respect everywhere in the tribe, but his authority, such as it is, is limited to his own sib. Sibmen share in the prestige of having a *habókü* as headman. Not every *habókü* is the head of his sib, for in some sibs several men hold the title and their senior is then the headman. In time of war the *habókü* is the natural war leader. Even when not headman his leadership is drawn upon in hunting and in all collective activities.

In the higher-ranking sibs the insignia of *habókü* include, first, a quartz cylinder worn as a pendant, a jaguar-tooth girdle, an armadillo-vertebrae girdle, and, finally, *mápena*, the ceremonial headdress of feathers and monkey hair. The *Bahúkiwa*, who are not privileged to wear either the quartz pendant or the girdles, maintain that *mápena* are the principal insignia of *habókü* status among them, although they defer to the higher status of the insignia of their higher-ranking clans. The *Hehénewa* deride this *Bahúkiwa* claim and insist that without the pendant and girdles no man can call himself *habókü*. The *Bakúkiwa* define *habókü* as an achieved status and the *Hehénewa* as a hereditary status, but only in the sense that it pertains to high-ranking sibs. Within the proper sib any man may acquire the insignia and the status of *habókü*.[1]

[1] Apropos of social status, Martius (1867, I, 596) reported caste distinctions of chiefs, nobles, and commoners on the Vaupés. He gives no details. One suspects an exaggeration, although the bases for his view are understandable.

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INSIGNIA OF STATUS

Ornamentation is for the Cubeo a requisite for basic status; one might say for human status. The Macú, for example, are sometimes derided as "not human," and it is noted in evidence that they have no ornaments. The very first day a newborn infant is in the house, it is painted with a jaguar design and its mother puts twine cord on its wrists and a seed necklace around its neck. An undecorated child is a rarity, an extraordinarily underprivileged creature. The common denominator of personal ornamentation includes face and body painting with red pigment (*urucú*) and a necklace. The wristlets of children have the magical purpose of fattening the arms, but the necklaces are sheer insignia of status. A popular trade item around Indian tribes is a necklace of silver plates in a triangle shape which all the Indians of the region call "butterflies." Necklaces of various seeds are common for men and women. In the past, ear ornaments and lower-lip labrets were common to both sexes. The Cubeo are proud and sensitive about their personal appearance. They apply pigment with great care, using dye rollers to print a design and pigment applicators that will apply parallel lines. Ornaments are always in good condition and of good quality.

The minimum ornamental requirement for full standing as an adult male is the complex feather headdress, *mápena* (feathers of the red *arara* [macaw]), which actually includes feathers of many different birds mounted on a crown of plaited fiber as well as a rope of monkey hair. These feathers, painstakingly gathered and put together, are handled with very great care, kept in a long fiber box where they are laid away always slowly, ceremonially, and in proper order, to be taken out for a dance. A man who does not own *mápena* borrows from the headman or from another sibmate so that he can take part in certain dances. All men possess some part of the full set of feathers, but only a headman will feel the strong obligation to possess the full set. No one among the *Bahúkiwa* owned a complete *mápena*, but this poverty was not too disturbing to them. The downstream *Hehénewa* were well provided. *Mápena*, however, are not a mark of sib rank.

The *Bahúkiwa* attitude toward *mápena* is ambivalent; their joy in possession is tempered by fear of death because of it. They do not make the headdresses but buy them from other Tucanoan and Arawakan tribes, and they suspect that whoever has sold them the feathers has included a spell that will kill the owner if he should own the full set. One informant explained that the feathers have power

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One informant explained that the feathers have power that may be too strong for the owner and that is why it is better not to have too much. Some men accumulate outfits of *mápena*. They are certain to die from overdoing, it is said. A host at a drinking party may lay out his *mápena* in a tray at the doorway so that guests may wear them for dancing. It is a point of pride to be able to supply guests in this way. He addresses a guest as follows: "Here it is now, this poor thing that I have. When you put this on you may drink. Our ancestor wore this when he made chicha to drink. He became sick when he did this, when he adorned himself. Other people know how to make this [*mápena*]. He bought it from them."

The girdles of jaguar teeth and of armadillo vertebrae were also possessed only by the *Hehénewa*. They are worn only during ceremonial dances. These girdles are symbols of shamanistic power although they are not shamanistic insignia. The jaguar is, of course, the full-fledged shaman himself. The armadillo claw forms the handle on the special rattle a shaman uses to bring rain. The quartz cylinder (*kenádox*: stone) may also be a shamanistic symbol since stone crystals are part of the medicine man's equipment. But whatever its symbolic significance, it is for the Cubeo the ornament of major prestige, limited to the high-ranking sibs. The quartz from which this pendant is laboriously made and drilled is found, I was told, only on the Tiquié River and is widely traded in the region. The *Hehénewa* claim that their first ancestors brought the *kenádox* with them and that is why they alone may wear them. Koch-Grünberg found these pendants to be widespread among the Tucano, where even children wore them.[2]

HEADMANSHIP

The headmanship, whether of *habóköü* status or *kenámi upákü*, normally stays within a particular lineage, although no lineage has a specific and traditional claim to the office. The office may go from a father to his eldest son or from a man to his next younger brother, depending upon circumstances and upon which of these pushes himself forward most effectively. Koch-Grünberg observed that among

[2] Martius (1867, I, 599 ff.) observed that the quartz cylinder is a special trait of the Vaupés. He put the source of the stone at the Apaporis and Caquetá rivers and reported that it took two generations to make a pendant. The stone is ground into shape with volcanic ash obtained from the Solimoes River and the hole is bored with a bamboo drill. He saw chiefs on the Vaupés who wore pendants drilled through the long way, an exceptional mark of high status. The size of the pendant, according to Martius, was in proportion to the deeds of the wearer in war and in the hunt.

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No Cubeo headman has rights over person, over life, or over property.

Within the sib, the headman is the firm but gentle father, ever watchful of the welfare of his sibmates. There is, however, another side to the office. As representative of the sib within the phratry he is the organizer of drinking parties in which the prestige of the sib and his own prestige are involved. An ambitious headman urges his people to produce more chicha, to entertain often. His pressure may become burdensome on the people and his influence within the sib is, accordingly, jeopardized. The *habókü* with more commanding presence can push people farther, it is said, than the ordinary *kenámi upákü*. While drinking parties are enjoyed and sibs are conscious of their own heightened prestige as givers of chicha, they suspect that their headman is pushing himself forward too strongly and they resent it. To forestall such resentment a headman urges household heads to join as cosponsors of a drinking party.

The headman is charged with preserving the unity of the sib. While concern with personal prestige is not lacking, this consideration of his must be secondary to the welfare of the sib. He must prevent splitting of the sib. If a household leaves, the headman is blamed. He is blamed if sibmen's quarrels reach a dangerous point. When drinking parties erupt in violence the women taunt the headman with his inability to restore order. Yet in asserting leadership the headman dare not be too forceful. Father Giacone has observed about the Tucano Indians that they are docile. The same can be said of the Cubeo. A man will not, in fact he claims he cannot, resist a direct command. He will obey and be resentful. No householder who had unwillingly submitted to a headman's command would long remain in the sib. Moreover, the Cubeo do not easily tolerate social tension. If the atmosphere in the house becomes unpleasant someone will certainly move out. Men will not work, hunt, fish, or join in any collective undertaking if the atmosphere is not cordial. Maintaining this atmosphere is perhaps the most difficult charge upon the headman.

The headman who must deal with white tradesmen and with labor recruiters has the additional burden of representing his community against men of very forceful personality. He finds that he dare not submit to the common weakness of docility and must match their forcefulness with his own. A headman who has learned to deal with the white man on equal terms will tend to be more authoritative within his sib as well.

There is much talk in the region about powerful chiefs, but no

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There is much talk in the region about powerful chiefs, but no one has really seen one. In the past, the Indians say, there were chiefs over all the sibs along a river. Koch-Grünberg was told the same thing (1909, I, 364). One is also told that other people have powerful chiefs. I had no opportunity to investigate this, but Koch-Grünberg, who traversed all the main rivers in the region, was always told that the chiefs along another river were strong. The Desanas had only headmen, but they informed Koch-Grünberg that great chiefs ruled along the Papurý and Tiquié rivers. When he got there he found only headmen. If there has been a stronger political organization among the Cubeo in the past there is no suggestion of it now.

The fact is that leadership follows similar principles among all neighboring tribes from whom we have adequate information. Describing the Arawakan Siusi, Koch-Grünberg notes that the headmanship is a hereditary office, going from father to oldest son or to his younger brother. The headman himself passes on the office to someone in his line. His authority is minor and is concerned only with village affairs. It is based on the respect owed to age. The headman among the Siusi, he adds, is a representative, receiving guests and leading all community activities and discussions. He sees to it that the house is kept in order; and if he leaves for any length of time he turns the command over to his brother. He maintains order but he cannot punish. A headman who had long associated with the whites claimed authority over the entire river but no one took him seriously. Koch-Grünberg had the impression, however, that the oldest man in the maloca was the headman (1909, I, 68). This is not quite true among the Cubeo. The Cubeo respect age, but leadership, to repeat, depends upon ability to be a giver, so that a man who has gone too far past his prime is ordinarily ruled out as a headman.

LAW AND JUSTICE

With respect to the administration of justice and of order the headman is no magistrate. He is a mediator, a counselor, and often a persuasive advocate of his own views. It is the entire adult community that must reach a decison. The headman provides for orderly discussion until a decision is reached. Within the sib a primary objective of the headman's efforts is to smooth over difficulties, calm tempers, and restore the atmosphere of congeniality. There are, however, serious breaches of the peace, such as sorcery, persistent adultery, chronic and malicious theft of food, and murder when punishment is called for. In such cases the aim of the headman is not to calm

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The Drinking Party

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614 The drinking party (*unkúndye*: chicha, or *unkwínemu*: drinking
[615] affair) is the mode of exchange that, generally speaking, governs the relationships among the sibs of the same phratry. Sibs, as I have already noted, do not feast one another, an observation that Koch-Grünberg also made. A sib has its internal drinking parties during which one household head serves chicha to the rest; but the serious and regular drinking parties are those that are held for the purpose of entertaining the sibs of the phratry. I could not determine definitely the pattern of intersib drinking parties, but I believe that an [554] important principle is one of social rank. Higher-ranking downstream settlements prepare chicha more often than do lower-ranking sibs. This accords with the aforementioned Cubeo doctrine that leadership comes from giving and subordination comes from receiving. Drinking party invitations, however, must also be reciprocated, so that over a long enough period of time each sib will have entertained all the others. Since sibs are under no formal obligation to honor a drinking party invitation, the result is that most drinking parties bring together only near sibs who are obligated to attend for personal reasons. Nevertheless, each full-fledged sib plans at least one event during the year when it will have entertained most if not all of its fellow sibs. Attendance at an intersib drinking party is normally by an entire sib although there is flexibility in this.

[182] The drinking parties are of prime importance in unifying the sibs of a phratry. Their frequency and their attendance attest to the state

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of social health of the sibs. They follow, in fact, a cycle of active entertaining leading eventually to drunken brawls and quarrels with allegations of sorcery and so to an era of bad feeling when only very close sibs entertain one another at parties where the drinkers are subdued and dismal. The cycle of euphoria-depression in the drinking parties reflects rather accurately the shifting state of social relations among sibmates and phratry mates.

The *unkúndye* is to be distinguished from other ceremonial occasions that are accompanied by drinking, such as initiation rites, mourning, and naming a child. It is more of a secular affair. It may commemorate an event, such as completion of a house or the end of a pubescent girl's brief isolation period. In the main, it has its own justification and its own compulsion. The justification is to bring the sibs together so that they may drink, dance, sing, gossip, and narrate publicly their origin traditions. Since attendance is generally limited to sibs of the phratry, the *unkúndye*, with all its erotic provocativeness, is hardly for courtship. It does stimulate and encourage adultery, however. The compulsion is to demonstrate economic capability. A sib should be able to provide all its phratry mates with more chicha than they can possibly consume. It should have a house large enough to encompass the entire phratry, and its young people should be vigorous enough to dance virtually without rest from late afternoon on one day until after dawn on the next. The rule of the *unkúndye* is that it must go on until the last drop of chicha has been consumed. The pride of the hosts is that with all the guests' efforts to drink heartily they could just not make it. Thus, while the *unkúndye* is a social binder, there is enough conflict in it to provoke serious resentment, quarrels, and temporary disruption of phratric unity.

The hosts of an *unkúndye* have two very evident anxieties as they go about their preparations. One is that they will have enough chicha. This they can control, for they have planned their cultivations to allow for at least 15 per cent of total manioc production to go into chicha. And they work hard at preparing the brew; an entire community will work happily all through the night, reducing the manioc to a mash and masticating it all mouthful by mouthful to give fermentation a speedy start. What they cannot control is attendance. The *unkúndye* is also a test of a sib's standing within the phratry. If it is well esteemed it will attract many guests. When I stayed with the *Bahúkiwa* they held a drinking party almost weekly, counting upon me as the novel attraction that would assure good attendance. As already mentioned they were then in an "up" phase, having moved to the main stream from the *caño*, and they basked for a time in an orgy

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574 of drinking parties that drew guests from every sib. For the
614 *Bahúkiwa* this was a considerable social triumph since, being rela-
554 tively low-ranking, they would ordinarily have had more modest social ambitions. Eventually this activity tapered off, and by the time I left the drinking parties had become very small and subdued.

574 Social rivalry is only an undercurrent of the drinking party, for
571 nothing is more reprehensible than open boasting. A sib must also
614 be careful not to overdo, for then people will regard it as too pre-
[578] sumptuous and will not attend. At the conclusion of the most successful of the parties given by the *Bahúkiwa*, when the headman was beaming at the sight of the immense and disorderly throng drinking and dancing in his still-uncompleted house, the guests were already saying that he was overdoing matters. Some told me that they suspected the headman of wanting to become leader over the river. The
[152] anxiety of the host as to whether his guests will come is matched by that of the sib that fears it may be ignored when the invitations go
[578] out. The normal expectation is that all will be invited and that all will come. At the same time, the drinking party is thought of as a display of friendship and trust, so that if there is any cause for rancor between sibs they will not attend one another's parties. Thus, when sibs that have been invited do not attend and sibs that should be are not invited, speculation is provoked as to why. Some speculation can take an angry and morbid turn.

574 In its predominantly positive aspects the *unkúndye* has a tonic
614 effect upon the life of almost the entire river. It is particularly bracing to the host sib. An intersib drinking party is given both in the name of the sib and in the names of individual sponsors. The instigator and chief sponsor of a party is, of course, the headman. He will invite cosponsors, usually but not exclusively the male heads of the individual households, so that he can count on the full cooperation of all. The week or so of active preparations demanded by a good-sized *unkúndye* is, in spite of heavy and often round-the-clock labor, a very happy time. The Cubeo regard collective effort that is carried out in good spirits as a great happiness. The preparations for
574 the *unkúndye* mark one of the very few occasions when men, women,
462 and children are all working together. Males normally avoid contact
252 with manioc that is being prepared as food. But they do handle many
522 stages of manioc being prepared as chicha. Even so, to handle manioc in any form a male must adopt an appropriate attitude of levity; it should appear that what he is doing is a game. The women thus are surrounded by rollicking men and are readily infected by their gay mood.

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574 the guests arrive they are asked to drink from the chicha prepared
[554] by each cosponsor. Those who do not choose to be cosponsors help in inconspicuous ways. There is honor in being a cosponsor but no competition for the privilege either. A household head feels free to decide when he desires cosponsorship. Those who have the most manioc to spare accept cosponsorship most freely. Major drinking parties are always sponsored by the headman, but smaller parties that bring together only close sibs may be offered in the name of a household head who wants the honor. The headman paternalistically defers to this. Some drinking parties are announced as being sponsored by a group of brothers. Of course if there is a special occasion
[562] the household head most closely concerned is expected to be a main sponsor. Women do not sponsor or cosponsor drinking parties ex-
[182] cept for the father's sister, who as widow or divorcée living in her own sib has the status of a household head. The Cubeo use drinking party sponsorship as a means of dealing with the minor frictions of community life, for cosponsors, by the symbolic act of doing something together, have reaffirmed their closeness. On a larger scale, attendance at drinking parties serves the same function.

574 The guest list provokes much discussion and entails in a sense
614 a review of the sib's relations with its fellow sibs. An invitation may
203 help achieve a reconciliation or it might yield only a humiliating rebuff. Invitations will be delivered in person, by the headman and by all cosponsors, the headman undertaking the downstream higher-status sibs, the others the upstream lower-ranking sibs. The proper time to deliver an invitation is six days before the event. The host delivers the invitation in a chanting tone during which he does not look at the guest but over his shoulder, and the guest replies in the
[201] same manner. The host holds up his hands, palms out and thumbs together. When the thumb of the right hand meets the thumb of the left hand it means there will be drinking. Holding two thumbs together is also a jesting sign, meaning, "Now we are going to drink." The four fingers of the right hand mean days of work, and the right-hand thumb means a day of very heavy preparation. The invitation means, then, "We are going to be very active for five days. On the sixth we shall drink."

574 One principle of Cubeo social structure is that whatever is accom-
614 plished on a multisib scale must have its counterpart on the smaller community scale in which household stands for sib. Thus, the five preparatory days are all small drinking parties within the sib so calibrated by degree of festivity—drinking, taking coca, singing, smoking—that each day the festive atmosphere is heightened, so that

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when the guests arrive the hosts have been honed and keyed up for the day almost like fighters who have been in training. The guests who come to a drinking party see their host sib in its prime condition. The allusion to a fighter training for a match is not out of place here because the gathering of the sibs is dramatized by the Cubeo not as old friends coming together but rather as jealous, aggressive, and fiercely independent segments who have resolved to be friends.

On the morning of the drinking party the *behórü* dancing staff is planted into the ground before the house as a pennant indicating that a party is to take place. It symbolizes dancing and gaiety. The young men, helped by the boys, decorate the staff with its colored feathers. When they have dressed the *behórü* they go to the river to bathe, returning clean and fragrant with sprays of leafy twigs thrust through the belt at the rear. Bathing in this context is bodily cleanliness but also ritual contact with the river.

The drinking party itself proceeds according to fixed stages. The first is the reception of guests. This follows a distinctive protocol. Guests arrive by sib and are received by sib. Having reached the landing beach and drawn up their canoes, a group pauses to make itself more presentable, washing face and hands, adjusting garments, tidying the children, and freshening body paint and ornamentation. The guests then walk slowly and with dignity up the path to the house, the older men in the lead and the women and children making up the rear. The women carry the burden of hammocks, food, and utensils, the men carry the ceremonial regalia, boxes of feather headdresses, dancing staffs, Panpipes. They are not greeted until they reach the house. There, inside the great front doorway of the house, stand the men of the maloca, one behind the other in order of seniority, the headman at their head. Long, low benches have been set inside the doorway for the seating of the male guests. Guests are received by sib in order of seniority, but the order of reception of sibs is fixed only by the time of arrival. Men greet men and women greet women. Persons of adult status only are greeted. The greetings are stereotyped and formal, delivered in the characteristic chant and with averted eyes that marks the speech between persons sharing a respect relationship. The guests' reply must echo the phrases of the host. "You have come" is echoed, "I have come." At very solemn occasions when the ritual separation of men and women is to be emphasized with particular rigor, the women are received at the rear (women's) entrance by the host wives. On ordinary occasions the women may come through the front door after all the men are in. They, too, are received in a ceremonious greeting, but an abbreviated

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10

The Mourning Ceremony

Mourning for the recent dead provides the setting for the most complex and most important of Cubeo ceremonies. These ceremonies, known collectively as *óyne* (weeping),[1] usually take place as late as a year after death, preferably during the dry season when the pupunha palm is ripe. I attended two mourning ceremonies, one among a *Bahúkiwa* subsib and one, a very elaborate affair, among the *Hehénewa*. The last I witnessed from the very beginning.

The *óyne* consists of two parts: a long, three-day section, followed about a month later by a one-day concluding ceremony at which the spirit of the dead is finally evicted from the community.[2] During the first part, masked dancers impersonate many of the familiar beasts, birds, insects, and fish, as well as the mischievous spirits of the Cubeo world. These spirit beings come to mourn, but mainly to turn the people from grief. On this occasion the tribal "grandmother" and her consort, in the form of two great bark trumpets, also arrive to mourn.

Koch-Grünberg, reporting on the same group of *Hehénewa*, says that the trumpets are called *Umênahonkũ* (Dragonfly) (1909, II, 151). He was not aware that the name referred to a *Hehénewa* Ancient. There are several possibilities to be considered in accounting

[1] Also *ówiwu* (weeping affair).

[2] There are also abbreviated one-day ceremonies for women, children, and men of small extended joint families. The three-day ceremony is most appropriate for a headman.

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778 of teaching people useful things. In the Cubeo allocation of moderate powers among men and supernatural beings, men get their fair share, so to speak.

The native term for power is *parié*, a term that applies to the strength and vigor of a warrior, the magical potency of the ancestor flutes and trumpets, the awesome fierceness of the jaguar, as well as to the clearly magical powers of the shaman or of the layman who has learned how to cure and to practice sorcery. The term simply [192] means "able" and is the verb in the common expression "I can do it." [193] Thus, the distinction we might draw between natural and supernatural powers is not one that is recognized by the Cubeo.

778 The shaman is the principal holder of *parié*. He may be known 756 as *pariékokü* (man of power) or as *yavi* (jaguar). By either term the Cubeo conjure up the image of power. As *pariékokü* it is power in a neutral sense; as *yavi* it is power in the aspect of dread. Every • [554] *yavi* is a *pariékokü* but not every *pariékokü* is a *yavi*. The *yavi* is the supreme shaman, the one who can take the form of a jaguar, who consorts with jaguars, who maintains the jaguar as a dog. The *pariékokü* is one who has learned how to cure as well as to kill but, not being a jaguar, is a second-class practitioner. Every sib has its *pariékokü*, but *yavis* are scarce. To distinguish between the *yavi* and the *pariékokü*, the Cubeo say of the former *urána pariékokü*, *urána* meaning "big." It is because of this Cubeo usage that I have thought it advisable to discuss shamanism under the heading of "power."

The power of the shaman is called *parükü*, a noun form with the connotation of a substance. When a shaman has accomplished an exceptional act it is his *parükü*, it is said, that enabled him to do it. 778 The great shamans control the weather, for the most part unpleas- 756 antly. They bring storms, hail, fog, strong winds. They can lower the 821 depths of a river as great as the Vaupés. When the river bottom of 823 the smaller Cuduiarí is exposed, however, the attribution is to natural 789 causes. The play of the shaman with weather and the river level is only a demonstration of his power and has no sinister motive. Shamanistic power also includes the control of tutelary spirits. Gener- 778 ally, a shaman controls a number of insect spirits who do his bidding, 756 in a minor capacity, however, as scouts and as messengers. A shaman 787 on the Cuduiarí once found a little girl who had blundered into the 825 forest and become lost. He claimed he had sent an insect to look for her.

756 Another demonstration of shamanistic power is in the battles the 778 shamans wage against one another. A *yavi*, I was told, has a different
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A yavi, I was told, has a different kind of *umé*, one that he can send to attack the *umé* of another. An injured *umé* sickens and dies and so does its owner. The people I spoke to did not believe that an ordinary person could be attacked through his *umé*. As a result of these shamanistic battles some strong *yavis* emerge with extraordinary reputations for power and aggressiveness. The *yavi* is the single truly aggressive figure among the Cubeo. The ordinary *pariékokũ* is not. The fact of being called "jaguar" puts the shaman beyond the human pale and allows him scope for unbridled ferocity. The benevolent acts of the *yavi*, his skill as a curer, his ability to find things, and inexplicably his ability to ripen fruits – the subject of ancestral rites – weigh relatively little against his reputation as a "killer."

The relationship between the *yavi* and the jaguar never became fully clear to me, perhaps because my information came only from laymen. No *yavi* was willing to talk to me about his work. Some informants said flatly that every jaguar was a *yavi* or the dog of a *yavi*, or a jaguar into which a *yavi*'s soul had entered. When a *yavi* dies his ghost spirit (*dekókũ*) becomes a jaguar. According to this view, the jaguar is feared because he is not an animal but a fiercely predatory man. Other informants explained that there are both ordinary jaguars and jaguars who are *yavis*. Both views agreed on the point that the fierceness of the jaguar is of human origin. Those who believed in ordinary jaguars said those were the kind that might run from a man. The *yavi* is ordinarily in human form and assumes the jaguar form by putting on a jaguar skin. One man said that it is not the man inside but the jaguar skin that eats the victim. There is also the view that it is the *umé* of the *yavi* that assumes a jaguar form and prowls about at night devouring people. One *yavi*, it is said, had his daughter pick the bits of human flesh from his teeth with the fang of a serpent. This young woman would steal from the manioc gardens. The women caught her at it and beat her. The next night the *umé* of her father ate them all. Another feature of the *yavis* is that they are never solitary. They travel in packs and they form a college for the training of recruits.

The story is told of an attack on a house at dawn by *pudnyaviwa* (jaguar people) who ate up all the people but one man who had hidden on a rafter. Having eaten, the jaguars took off their skins and went outside to fetch water. The man jumped down and threw all the skins into the fire. When the jaguars returned they rushed to save the burning skins. Those that succeeded left the house as jaguars and those that did not had to leave as humans.

A short time ago a *Bahúkiwa* was clawed by a jaguar. He returned

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and curing ritual, including handling of the shaman's rattle. The bark of the *kûriákü* tree is then prepared in a narcotic drink, also called *kûria*, which teacher and novice take together while singing the shamanistic songs. The instruction period concludes when shaman and novice sit side by side and under the influence of *kûria* sing and shake the rattle from dawn to sunset. At sunset a storm arises and passes quickly. Novice and teacher then go to the river to bathe; they rinse their mouths with water, return to the house, and eat. The novice spends five more days in isolation, repeating the insertions, and then he returns for his examination. He drinks *kûria* and sings until clouds come up. Then the teacher says to him, "Now you understand." He sings some more until the storm breaks, and the examination is over.

Curing is not a highly developed art. The shamans are the first to acknowledge their limitations. They claim only to be able to remove spines (*duwáiyo*) and crystals (*kenádox*) that another shaman has "shot" into the body. A common term for curing is *duwaitüwü* (to extract spines). The repertoire of sorcery techniques, not to mention the poisons that sorcerers and malevolent people use, go beyond the assured skills of the curer. Thus there are many ailments which the Indians must be prepared to accept as irremediable. Under the circumstances, the anxious despair into which an ailing Indian falls when ill is readily understood. At the same time, the Cubeo are eager to accept medical treatment for any ailment, regarding such treatment as superior to that offered by the *yaví*.

I witnessed only one full curing treatment which, I was assured, was standard. The patient, an old man who died shortly thereafter, was carried from his hammock and seated on a low stool at the front plaza. The medicine man, who was referred to as *yaví*, a respect term only since he was not credited with the power to be a jaguar, held a rattle hung with parakeet feathers. He asked that two black earthenware pots filled with water be brought to him. He then went off to some bushes, from which he gathered leaves and kneaded them into the water. While doing this he secretly dropped a fistful of black spines into each of the two pots. The spines sank to the bottom. He approached the patient, lighted a long ceremonial cigarette, and blew tobacco smoke at all parts of the body where the ailment might lodge. As he blew the smoke he gestured with his right hand in a motion of waving away breath from his mouth. After each blow he stood up and sent what seemed to be breath and smoke off in the direction of the river and in the direction of the forest. The blowing was accompanied by a shaking of the rattle and was followed by chanted

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(621) main emphasis upon the person and not upon the community. Such an emphasis, needless to say, tends to favor autonomy over linkage.

It is evident that the foregoing discussion of linkage-autonomy is in many respects simply a restatement of the familiar concept of segmentation. There are, however, significant differences that justify the use of other terminology. Segmentation as defined by Nadel (1953, p. 177) refers to a more limited set of relationships than have been included here. As an example of segment he describes a "hierarchical structure being arranged in an order of progressive inclusiveness, as lineages, for example, build up clans, and clans build up a tribe, or as several village communities form a district, and several districts the state. . . ." From the standpoint of this definition, Cubeo society is, of course, segmentary. The concept of segmentation, however, is purely objective, and as such is pertinent to the purposes of social anthropology. However, the term "segmentation" carries no cultural connotations, since it does not define the point of view of the members of the culture. Therefore it is inadequate for the aims of cultural anthropology. The concept of linkage-autonomy, on the other hand, expresses a cultural, a Cubeo, point of view and indicates how this point of view is embodied in social structure. This Cubeo point of view, which places a value both upon extending relationships and maintaining autonomy, goes beyond the structural patterns that are commonly included under the concepts of segmentation. It is a more inclusive concept.

LATERAL AND HIERARCHICAL RELATIONSHIPS

All social structures are regulated by bonds of relatively equivalent status relationships, as well as by bonds of nonequivalent or unequal status relationships. The former, existing on roughly the same social plane, are called lateral, and the latter, existing on different social planes, are called hierarchical. Hierarchy is always a culturally defined term and represents a clear-cut distinction of relative worth. Lateral is also a culturally defined term, but laterality is not a clearly set relationship of status equivalence. Hence it must be modified by the adjective "relative." The ranking of sibs is a clear example of hierarchy among the Cubeo, whereas kinship relations, including ceremonial friendships, are lateral. However, since kinship relations also embody formal principles of hierarchy, such as generation, seniority, consanguinity, and affinity they are lateral only by contrast with the strongly hierarchical distinctions of authority, power, pres-

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tige, and rank. Societies differ with respect to the relative role these two principles have in the social structure. That of the Cubeo is very strongly lateral and only weakly hierarchical. Even the ranking of sibs has ritualistic rather than political significance. Rank confers prestige but no power. On the other hand, it does confer economic privilege of a sort by granting to the high ranks superior river rights. But the Cubeo themselves do not make an issue of this economic distinction. Political authority, as we have shown, is relatively slight. In kinship, age, generational, and descent seniority elicit some respect and provide for ritual precedence. Such precedence is a prestige point. But the prestige accrues less in everyday affairs than upon formal occasions. Thus, from the Cubeo point of view virtually all relationships between persons and between groups are lacking in dominance-subordination, whereas only in rituals, that is, only upon the plane of the sacred, are there distinctions of worth and of respect. Even these are rather minor, involving only ritual precedence. The ritual pattern itself is not hierarchical. Now segmentation, as Nadel has observed, is a hierarchical form of organization, yet in the case of the Cubeo, segmental hierarchy has little cultural significance. Since the phratry has no organization of leadership it is not, in actuality, a "higher" segment. For all secular purposes the sibs deal with one another as equals.

The principal characteristic of a strong lateral structure, such as that of the Cubeo, is its considerable flexibility in forming new linkages and in rearranging old ones. Hierarchical structures, on the other hand, are dependent upon, or subject to, the authority of a higher-ranking segment. The new linkages that any Cubeo household is free to establish are limited far more by personal preferences than by inviolable principles. Sib exogamy is such an inviolable principle, but phratric exogamy is somewhat different. It involves not the "dread" of incest but rather the sentiment of confraternity. Cubeo flexibility responds to the absence of political constraint. Sibs can move about, and can, if they wish, change phratric affiliation.

FISSILITY

From the two preceding principles of sociocultural structure there follows a third, ease of fission. Every segment of the entire social structure has the capability of detaching itself from the larger body. The factions that have actually broken off include sib clusters, sibs,

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571 deed, reason to doubt the sufficiency of the ecological thesis generally.
[578] Insofar as Cubeo culture is concerned the question is clearly a com-
[182] plex one. If we were to postulate a simple explanation at all it would be to the effect that the Cubeo experience is close to the irreducible level of stress and strain inherent in community living. In the absence of strong restraints the people respond to these stresses by leaving. This explanation is perhaps not too far wrong. It is inadequate, however, for our purpose, which is to delineate the formal principles of homeostasis in a "simple" tropical forest horticultural society. There is no need to repeat in detail the powerful forces that hold sibmen to-
[857] gether. They include the totality of binding forces that exist in Cubeo culture. In the institution of the male play pack they draw in addition upon the psychological attractions that are formed by the closest of associations developed over the period from early childhood to adulthood. It is not until marriage that the paternal bonds of sibship begin to weaken -- and even then only moderately.

571 As in the case of the phratry, the stresses within the sib result from
614 adultery, personal insult, and resentment of authority. Can the preva-
578 lence of adultery be attributed simply and directly to the extraordi-
831 narily wide extension of exogamy that severely curtails courtship?
837 Actually, the adulterous men are not the unmarried. It is almost always the married man who seduces or is seduced by a sib brother's wife. The unmarried, as we have noted, find sexual outlet more commonly in onanism, homosexual play, and near incest. These unorthodox modes of sexual activity reaching into early adulthood seem to produce a sexual maladjustment that is most manifest in the early stages of marriage. It is consequently the young wives and the older, more mature married men who are the most common adulterous partners. The role of exogamy is indirect but nonetheless strong; it may be regarded as a natural cause of adultery and hence of internal
[562] discord. There is also an apparent symbolic cause: the Cubeo symbolic view of a woman as separatist and as disruptive of sib unity. Indeed, this would seem to be the Cubeo woman's natural role. But this natural role gains in consequence of being placed in a traditional and symbolic setting. In such a setting the expectations are intensified and it is easier for the persons to overcome scruples.

578 We have seen that the Cubeo regard female adultery as more or less
571 natural but that they regard male adultery more seriously as a
937 sign of hostility. Adultery implies sibling rivalry, which the Cubeo
593 acknowledge, but they have no specific theory to account for it. In
[562] status-conscious societies, status rivalry is a common institutional
[554] cause of conflict between brothers. Since the Cubeo lack status rivalry